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A NORTHERN PROFESSOR WINTERS IN COLUMBIA, 1852-1853

Edited by MARGARET DESCHAMPS MOORE

University of Mississippi

Alexander Taggart McGill, a Pennsylvanian, spent the winter of 1852-53 as professor of ecclesiastical history at Columbia Theological Seminary.<sup>1</sup> A noted clergyman who in 1848 had been moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, he moved in a circle composed of Columbia's prominent Presbyterian families. He made his home with George Howe, then professor of Biblical literature at the Seminary and later author of the well known *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*.<sup>2</sup> Among McGill's friends were the president of South Carolina College, James Henley Thornwell,<sup>3</sup> and the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Benjamin Morgan Palmer.<sup>4</sup>

The visitor wrote frequently to his wife and children who remained in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and some of these letters have been preserved in the Presbyterian Historical Society in Pennsylvania, which has given permission for their publication. They picture the graciousness of the Howe family and their friends, and the charm of social life in Columbia. Home-sickness, dislike of slavery, and yearning for privacy kept McGill from experiencing very real satisfaction during his stay in Columbia, and at the end of the school term he returned to Western Theological Seminary where he had previously taught.<sup>5</sup> Yet, throughout his letters one detects a wistful yearning to bring his family South and become a part of a society which both attracted and repelled him.

Columbia June 19, 1852<sup>6</sup>

My dear Mary,

I am greatly delighted to know, that you are so much better: and I am very impatient to get home once more, and see all my dear children. "There is no place like home"; however kindly I may be treated among

<sup>1</sup> For a brief sketch of McGill's life, see Alfred Nevin, *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1884), 494-95.

<sup>2</sup> 2 vols., Columbia, 1870-83. For a sketch of Howe, see *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), IX, 286-87.

<sup>3</sup> See Benjamin Morgan Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond, 1875).

<sup>4</sup> See Thomas C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer* (Richmond, 1906).

<sup>5</sup> A year later he was elected to the chair of ecclesiastical, homiletic and pastoral theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, from which he retired in 1883.

<sup>6</sup> McGill was in Columbia at this time probably to make arrangements for the position he later assumed.

strangers. I do not know how you would like this country for a home. Negroes are plenty; gay people, elegantly dressed, in fine carriages, and "faring Sumptuously every day," are plenty. And then the beautiful gardens, orchards, shrubbery and flowers, make the town itself like a Paradise to the eye. But all these things, you know, could not make us happy: if we did not feel ourselves to be at home. . . .

The sun is very hot, during the day. The thermometer is upwards of 90° in the shade: and yet, at this moment, a delightful breeze, passing through the house, dispenses with the need of a fan. People stay in the house all day: and then go forth in the evening; and fill the streets, with the gayest promenading. Young ladies are seldom seen with bonnets on: but, whether walking or riding in carriages, their heads are bare, with various decorations in their hair: and their dresses are very light and fine.

I was not well, yesterday, and the day before: but feel as well as usual today: only, that I am homesick. May God preserve you all safely and happily, till I see you again. . . .

Your affectionate Father

Alexr. T. McGill.

Columbia Dec. 28, 1852

My dear Wife,

I am here at length, after a tedious and not pleasant journey, either by land or sea. Through the kind protection of God, the dangers of the ocean, at this boisterous season, have been safely passed; after more than ordinary peril. In going out of Cape Fear river, our vessel came into a collision with a Brig of immense size, and the concussion was dreadful. Our prow was shattered, a mast was broken, and the guards which protect the deck from the waves were driven in—yet the steamer went on in the passage, through a raging sea, which made me very sick. We arrived in Charleston on Saturday evening instead of morning: and of course, too late for the train to Columbia. . . . I arrived here late, yesterday evening—Dr. Howe meeting me with his carriage, on my way to the Hotel, and urging me home with him.

I feel very sad and gloomy, this morning; though in usual health. Every thing turns up comfortless to my mind. The difficulty of obtaining a good boarding-house is much more than I expected: and I may conclude to put up, finally, at one of the Hotels. I would rather incur additional expense there, than go to any of the houses, which have been mentioned: but, as yet, it seems impossible for me to feel at home; though



the climate is delightful. . . . The number of students here is about 30. They are toiling away, without any recess for holidays.

In a few days more I shall give you a more satisfactory account of my arrangements here, and my impressions. . . .

Very affectionately your husband,

Alexr. T. McGill.

Columbia, S. C. Jany 18, '53

My dear Wife,

I have just read yours of the 11th, inclosing the note from Mr. Knight, etc. It is always pleasant to get your half sheets and the Tuesday on which I commonly receive them is now a very welcome dawn, leaving me, as it does, to expect a green spot more pleasant by far than any of the sweet gardens and evergreens among which I sojourn. But I must not turn poet, in my old days of love. Your letter, full of dollars and cents, looks rather business like to kindle a poetic enthusiasm. That Bill of Spencer's. . . . My household is nothing compared to Dr. Howes. He used *thirty* bushels of rice last year, as one item. This, at 6 dollars a bushel, is 180\$, for rice alone. His salary dont more than half support him. But his wife makes it up: with her plantations of rice, sugar, and cotton, in the South of Georgia. She raises the rich Sea Island Cotton, which sells for 45 to 75 cents a pound.

I hardly know what to do about my boarding. Having been invited to remain with Dr. H., and a snug little room having been fitted up for me, I dont know how to withdraw, without leaving some impression, that I am not entirely satisfied. Besides, Mrs. Howe is rapidly regaining her health, and is able to resume her domestic empire, and seems to treat me as if I were one of her family. Added to all, and more than all, the extensive library of Dr. H. more than makes up for my own, without the trouble of borrowing, and of lugging armfuls from the public Library. But just as soon as I can get out, and get a good place I shall transfer myself.

This morning the thermometer stood at 26°—the lowest of any day this winter and considered *very* cold weather. The negroes were all congealed and if they could be frozen all away, I would not be sorry. I have great trouble in a cold day to get my fire kept up, by the lazy, lying and deceitful rascals. They know I don't whip, neither do I pay; and they dont care whether I freeze or not.

Columbia, S. C. Feb. 3, 1853

My dear Wife,

I have just recd. your last letter. . . .

Since I last wrote, our house here, has been visited by a sad calamity—the death of Dr. Howe's second daughter "Marion" nearly seven years old. She was an exceedingly fascinating child—the idol of the neighborhood. Some 12 days ago, she complained of sore throat, and her mother, having lost a child before by croup began to attend early to the child, administering the usual remedies. But the disease made progress slowly, even after it was thought to be subdued. The most skillful physicians of the town were baffled: and suddenly, on Sabbath evening last, it was found that the larynx was swelling with frightful inflammation and the breathing became like a shrill whistle. The Physician brought his instruments to open the windpipe below the seat of inflammation, in order to give artificial breathing through a tube, until the disease could be arrested above. But it was found, that the inflammation had gone down too low: and the little sufferer was given up.

On Monday morning, after she had ceased to speak, and struggling in agony for breath, she beckoned to her mother to come into the bed—which she did: and then turning round, she kissed her mother convulsively, nestled herself in her bosom, and expired—while even the Doctor thought she was getting some relief, and going to sleep! You can hardly imagine a more touching scene, than that of the mother, gently looking down upon her features, as she hoped that it really might be so—and then with a sudden scream, cry out—"Oh she is dead"—My child is gone."

Yesterday, we had the funeral solemnities—A very large concourse assembled—Dr. Leland<sup>7</sup> officiated, and I was assigned a seat with the mourners. In going to the grave, Dr. L. and myself preceded on foot the distance being only a few squares. The students, as pallbearers walked on each side of the hearse, then followed all the servants of the family, behind whom the family carriage came next with parents and children, and then a long procession of elegant carriages. Altogether, it has been a solemn and saddening occasion to my feelings. The stricken parents seem almost inconsolable, being both peculiarly devoted to their children. I sorrowed for them most, when I thought of my own little ones. Ours exactly corresponded before—3 boys and 2 girls. How frail and uncertain is our hold on these dear creatures! I wish you would

<sup>7</sup> Aaron W. Leland was professor of theology at the Seminary. See F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850* (Columbia, 1926), 424.

write a letter to Mrs. Howe, somewhat, or altogether after the fashion of one which I shall put on another page.

There is quite a concourse of strangers from the North in Columbia, this winter—from Philadelphia, New York, Boston &c. There is no doubt of its salubrity, in general. The pinewoods and sand hills, which skirt the town, are proverbial for freedom from sickness of every kind. I have not had a cold, since I came here, although there has been a great variety, in the degrees of temperature: and, if I were *at home here*, I think my health would be good.

Dr. Smyth,<sup>8</sup> of Charleston, is here, delivering a special course of Lectures to our Students. He is very able and eloquent. The Board of Directors met today and resolved to erect additional buildings, at a cost of 10,000\$. They made arrangements for my inaugural at the close of the session, in June next, I having declined to be inaugurated now, and yet not willing positively to say I would not be inaugurated at all, until I see what Providence will indicate more plainly. If the Allegheny Directors do things handsomely, in May next, my purpose is to return to Pa., as a more suitable field, on the whole, for *me* to be *useful* in. But, if the spirit which actuated them last summer, show itself, in the least, and if they do not wipe out honorably to me the impression made by their resolutions, I cannot return: but shall either stay here, or go to our farm. *You* could live here pleasantly. But I must give place to the letter which I bespeak for Mrs. Howe and that, if you please, *without delay*.

It is a most lovely day. I have been writing and reading in my room, without fire all day: but the necessity of walking, as usual, for exercise obliges me to defer the remainder of my letter, till tomorrow. . . . I am glad Mary entertained her visit on Ruth Bradford, without discussing abolitionism. Crazy as her Father is, on the subject, I respect him more, than a certain minister from Pa. graduate of Jefferson too, who has got negroes by marriage, and buys and *sells*, without remorse, as it suits his interests or feelings. I turned with ineffable disgust today at a small affair, in his conduct towards the mother of a girl, he bought at public sale, not long since. But I must tell it to you hereafter. I am forgetting to close *my own* letter as I promised above; doubtless, because it is so pleasant to keep talking to you. Give my love to all. Tell Bella, that she need not be impatient to get a husband in Pa. if she means to come South. There is a fine lot of good mechanics

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Smyth was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 377-78.

here, who make plenty of money, and would make good husbands: but are not just "the caste" for planters' daughters.

Your affectionate husband

Alexr. T. McGill.

Columbia, S. C. Feby 10, 1853

My dear Wife,

Time has borne me into the 7th week of my exile, and instead of making it more tolerable, I begin to feel, at times, that I can stand it no longer. . . .

Matters go on as usual. So many *little* engagements in the Seminary keep me occupied; so that I have no time for visiting unless on Saturday: and I scarcely go anywhere. I have not returned Dr. Thornwell's visit: and yesterday he paid me another, with great courtesy and kindness. He is the most important personage in town, not excepting the Governor himself. The brilliancy of his talents, his great learning, and his position, combine to give him ascendancy of influence.

Dr. and Mrs. Howe still mourn sadly for their little "Marion." They had two Daguerreotype pictures taken, after her death, in different style of costume, which they seem to have all the time in their hands. . . . I have not yet said anything to Dr. Howe about my boarding; in consequence of his trouble: and I shall soon need more money to pay up. No one says a word to me about money. And I do not speak of it, of course, until my quarter is up. Then, if it don't come, I shall relieve the Institution quickly of my burden. In the meantime, I wish you to send me twenty dollars of any good Southern money. . . .

I have just plucked a flower or rather bud off a sweet briar at the door; and send it to "my dear little Etty". . . .

Your affectionate husband,

ALEXR. T. MCGILL

Columbia, S. C., March 17th 1853

My dear son John Dale,

About the figs—they don't get ripe till June—two months yet. Oranges cost about as much here as they do in Allegheny. It takes a great deal of money to live here—there are so many niggers, to eat every thing up. We will soon have strawberries and peas to eat, in Co-

lumbia. The best thing we have to eat yet, is sweet potatoes, which have been kept all winter. They are delicious: and plenty of them can be bought for half a dollar a bushel. That is cheap.

Little George Howe has got well again—I wish my sons were as fat and rosy as he is now. . . . Be good boys, both of you.

Your affectionate father,

ALEXR. T. MCGILL

Columbia, March 24, 1853

My dear Wife,

It is rather tantalizing, that the mails are so badly managed, that two of my letters always intervene before I can get an answer to the third one back: which is almost forgotten, when your particular notice of it comes to my hand.

I am hesitating, whether to hand Mrs. Maitland's letter to Mrs. Howe, for several reasons—1st. Because she is busy preparing for a journey to her plantation, in the South of Georgia, intending to take her children with her, and to be absent for a month or more: she has evidently no time, at present, to go about among her friends, to procure the arrangement, which Mrs. M. desires; and it would scarcely be discreet, to solicit her attention, under such circumstances: she might feel annoyed—not being able to comply with the request, and yet unwilling to refuse the favor. 2nd. Because, the season at which Mrs. Maitland proposes to come, is near the time when the school terms break up here, when young ladies have become weary of long application, and are all intent on arranging for summer travel and recreation. 3rd. Because *visits of observation* from the North, are peculiarly distasteful to these Southern people, at the present time. It looks like coming to spy out the land; or coming for a temporary object of the visitor, without feeling any interest in the country, or caring, at all, to be identified with its citizens. As I said before, the best way to get a good place is to come on at once, at the right season; and let the people become interested in the personal application and actual presence of the stranger. They don't love Northern people enough, to do any thing they can help, to *fetch* them, unseen and unheard, lest they should fetch abolition in some shape, or unfriendliness to their "Institutions." It is only because I was regarded as half a Southern man, that they ever sent for me. These considerations and a general impression of the failure which would attend this plan lead me to doubt whether I

should give the letter. Perhaps, however, I may give it, tomorrow. At any rate I shall inquire into the practicability of getting a class, etc.

...

Your affectionate husband

ALEXR. T. MCGILL

Columbia, March 31, 1853

My dear Wife,

Here I am, in a large house, without a solitary tenant, but myself. Dr. and Mrs. Howe and their four children are all gone to Georgia, leaving me and some twenty negroes, to take care of the premises, for a fortnight. I had gone to one of the Hotels and taken a room, but Dr. and Mrs. Palmer who reside on the adjoining lot insisted very politely and pressingly on me to "share their loaf" and keep my place in Dr. Howe's house. Dr. Leland and his wife proposed the same thing; and a Mrs. Young, a lady of prominence, in Presbyterian society, urged me to take lodgings in her house, so that I have had many invitations. Dr. Palmer's being first, and Mrs. Howe appearing anxious, that I should not leave their house, and there being the advantage of books etc., I have concluded to remain; probably, until I leave for the North which will be about four weeks hence. My present calculation is to leave here on the 27th of April (Wednesday) and reach Pittsburgh, the 30th (Saturday evening).

I have drawn from the Treasury here \$666—four months salary—including the month I labored last summer. Of this sum I have paid Dr. Howe 60\$ for three months boarding—being the rate of genteel boarding houses here—He said he would not have accepted anything, but for the fear that I would not feel independent—and that, if he charged anything at all, it would be the usual price of board, in the best houses. This was all right, of course: and yet I would have given 50% more, at any time, in order to feel "free and easy" at a hotel. I must pay the niggers more yet for washing, blacking, brushing, bed making &c. . . .

It appears, you are not favorable to the Princeton movement. . . . One thing is nearly certain to my mind, that, if you come to Columbia, you will not be willing to leave it again. It is just the place to please you. Its charming walks and gardens, delightful circles of female society, balmy climate, fattening food, and ebony hands to dress it, will take such a hold of your local attachment that you will refuse to move, any more. Are you then prepared, to become permanently identified



with the South in general, and South Carolina, in particular? That is the question for prayerful and deliberate decision, *very soon*, and finally, I am just informed, today, from Phila., that my nomination will be voted by a large majority, of the Princeton Directors. Shall we plant our children there, in that ancient seat of learning and religion—or bring them to the sunny South, and mix them up with its institutions and its destiny—or will you stay at Allegheny? . . .

Columbia is notable for fruitfulness in *clergymen's* families. Dr. Palmer, not yet 35, has had five. Dr. Thornwell, nine &c. I dined, sumptuously, at Dr. Thornwell's last week. His wife is one whom you would like. She was rather anxious to learn what could be known about you. She is a *Witherspoon*—grandniece of the great Dr. of that name<sup>9</sup>—simple, kind, and yet highly refined in her manner. . . .

Your affectionate husband

ALEXR. T. MCGILL

Columbia, April 7th. 1853

My very dear Wife,

I begin to understand, why homesickness is considered by French Physicians, a disease, and a bad one. Mine has almost come to a paroxysm, within the last few days. The peculiar condition of my family—the absence of the other Professors at Charleston, attending Presbytery—my utter loneliness, and the pressure of other heavy solitudes, which you know all combine to render my stay irksome, to the last degree. I have lost my appetite: and for the last week, have literally forced myself to eat anything at all. . . .

The negroes of my establishment are in great tribulation—"Joe," the carriage-driver has been nearly killed. His Master left him particular charges, to use the new pair of blooded horses every day, in a light wagon, hauling manure, wood, &c., in order to keep down their mettle. But he contrived to let them run off, affrighted by the Railroad cars; and they dashed everything to pieces, nearly killing him, and ruining their own tractability hereafter. It matters little, whether I stay about the house or not—they pay no obedience to me, whatever—excepting the woman who attends my chamber, and one of her little boys. They, however, are kept attentive by money. Dr. Howe is a poor master—a mixture of weak indulgence and particular strictness—magnificent in outlay, one while, and pinching in parsimony another. . . .

<sup>9</sup> John Witherspoon, noted Presbyterian clergyman, was president of the College of New Jersey and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

I have double or treble seminary duties, this week—have to visit the sick in the absence of the Pastor, and to supply his pulpit on Sabbath. It is the first time I have consented to preach, since I came—having only participated in addresses at the communion. I mean to try two sermons, as an experiment, if I am well enough. But if I am not better tomorrow, than I am today, I shall escape to Chesterville, and leave a licentiate in the seminary to preach in my absence. . . .

Your own affectionate husband

ALEXR. T. MCGILL.

Columbia, April 21, 1853

My very dear Wife,

The joyful news of another daughter came on two wings, in the same mail—one from the pen of Dr. Dale—and one from that of George and Mary conjointly. Of course, I was relieved and happy. . . .

This is probably the last letter from me—this separation. Next Wednesday I start for home, if no disappointment intervene. Dr. Howe starts about the same time, for his family in Georgia. I have told him the secret of your sickness: and it has greatly relieved his mind: for he had the suspicion, that you remained behind through repugnance to the South. He says "Ladies are very shrewd. Mrs Howe conjectured, long ago, this reason, for Mrs. McGill's detention." I suppose Madam Gossip has put it on the wind, by this time. Some ladies look archly, when they ask about you, now. Though I have displeased the whole circle of my lady acquaintance by visiting little or none, I must say, that so far as I can judge, it is the most delightful circle of the kind, I have ever known. It is settled in my mind, that you would be pleased with Columbia. But—I have no room to expand or explain the "But"—at present and must bid you goodnight—hoping and praying that you will get well very fast and fine—and that "baby" will keep growing and good until I get home—doffing its tawny skin, meanwhile, and looking just like the other babies, George and Mary and Tan and John and Etty—to all of whom I send love along with a double portion to yourself.

Your own affectionate husband

ALEXR. T. MCGILL



## THE SOUTH CAROLINA QUARTERING DISPUTE, 1757-1758

By JACK P. GREENE

*Western Reserve University*

Insistence by British commanders-in-chief of the forces in America that Parliamentary regulations concerning the quartering of troops be rigidly complied with in the colonies occasioned several controversies with American lower houses of assembly during the French and Indian War. Sections on quartering in the British Mutiny Act specified that the inhabitants of any area in which the King's forces were stationed were required to furnish those troops with quarters and to supply them with certain necessities including firewood, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, kitchen utensils, and limited quantities of small beer and cider. Barracks were preferred as quarters, but, if they were unavailable, troops might be accommodated in public houses, unoccupied dwellings, barns, or other outbuildings. However, Parliament was not to extend these regulations to the colonies until 1765, and friction arose when American legislatures, which had no desire to incur expenses that could be avoided, raised the legal question of whether or not these regulations and, for that matter, all Acts of Parliament not specifically extended to the Crown's overseas dominions applied to the colonies unless provided for by colonial statute. Faced with the necessity of finding shelter for the forces, British officers had little patience with such obstructions, and, if they were unable to convince the legislators of the injustice of their arguments, the threat of force could usually be counted on to settle such questions in favor of the army.

Not so easily overcome, however, were the objections of the lower houses to the quartering of troops in private homes. At the beginning of the war no American town was equipped to accommodate a force large enough to defend it. Barracks were few, and public houses, unoccupied dwellings, and even unused outbuildings were nowhere numerous. If none of these acceptable forms of accommodation were immediately available, British officers had two alternatives: to let the men camp out in tents or to quarter them in private homes. In most instances the necessity of protecting the troops from the elements ruled out any consideration of outside camps. As a result British officers usually insisted that troops be housed in private dwellings. Such demands inevitably invited resistance from the particular lower house of assembly involved. Americans, as the British were to be made painfully aware in the following decade, were jealous of their rights as English-

men, and one of those rights was the freedom of the individual from having soldiers quartered in his home without his consent. Clear expressions of that right had been set forth by the English House of Commons in 1628 in the Petition of Right and in 1689 in the Declaration of Rights. That it was re-asserted by several of the colonial legislatures during the course of the French and Indian War should not, therefore, have been surprising. Indeed, freedom of the subject from arbitrary quartering was vigorously asserted by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1755 and by the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1757. Both of these assertions and the situations out of which they grew have been well treated in Stanley Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in America*.<sup>1</sup> A similar declaration by the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly in March 1758 has not hitherto received the attention it deserves.

With the fall of Oswego to the French in the summer of 1756, British fortunes in the French and Indian War reached their nadir. Where the French would strike next was uncertain, and few areas were considered safe from the Gallic Peril. The concentration of British forces in the middle colonies and in New England left the southern colonies particularly vulnerable. To defend them South Carolina and Georgia had only two independent companies of one hundred men each distributed among several forts along the frontier. Moreover, intensified activities by the French among the Creek and Cherokee Indians had led officials in those colonies to fear a joint French-Indian assault on their six-hundred-mile western frontier. For that matter, Charleston, the most important British shipping and commercial center south of Philadelphia, seemed a likely object of attack.

The exposed condition of South Carolina was called to the attention of the Board of Trade in December 1756 by the colony's special agent, Charles Pinckney,<sup>2</sup> and again the following January by a group of merchants interested in trading with South Carolina and Georgia.<sup>3</sup> Reports from William Henry Lyttelton, South Carolina's able and influential governor, in December 1756 of the probability of a French invasion of that colony<sup>4</sup> and accounts from Georgia of Indian troubles

<sup>1</sup> (New Haven, 1933), pp. 189-209.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Pinckney to Board of Trade, Dec. 2, 1756, South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia, Transcripts of Records relating to South Carolina in the British Public Record Office (hereafter PRSC), XXVI, 182-204.

<sup>3</sup> Merchants' Petition to Board of Trade, Jan. 11, 1757, PRSC, XXVI, 247-9.

<sup>4</sup> Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 25, 31, 1756, PRSC, XXVII, 205-11, 221-5.

with the Upper Creeks<sup>5</sup> convinced the Board that the southern colonies were in danger. The whole matter was placed before Secretary of State William Pitt with the result that Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Montgomery was ordered to Charleston with 1,000 men of the Royal Highland Battalion.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, the Earl of Loudoun, commander-in-chief of British forces in the colonies, was also concerned for the safety of the southern provinces. Meeting with the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia in Philadelphia in March 1757, he decided to station a large force in South Carolina including 500 British regulars and 1300 provincials to be recruited from South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.<sup>7</sup> The command of these forces was put in the hands of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Bouquet.<sup>8</sup>

News of Loudoun's decision reached Lyttelton early in May. He immediately asked the Commons House of Assembly to arrange housing for the troops. Accordingly, on May 5, the Commons voted to provide temporary quarters in some old empty barracks, a building formerly used as a free school, and such "Other suitable houses" as might be required. In addition, it ordered Commissary General William Pinckney to supply the troops with necessities including firewood, candles, pepper, salt, and two quarts of small beer per day at the public expense.<sup>9</sup>

Bouquet arrived in Charleston with five companies of the Royal American Regiment and 200 Virginians on June 15, 1757. The Virginians were lodged in town, but the Royal Americans were encamped a mile or two away for fear of spreading the smallpox that had broken out during their passage from Philadelphia.<sup>10</sup> When the General Assembly

<sup>5</sup> John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1944), pp. 90-1.

<sup>6</sup> Pitt to Lyttelton, Mar. 31, 1757, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, William Henry Lyttelton Papers (hereafter Lyttelton Papers).

<sup>7</sup> Added to the 200 men of the independent companies already in South Carolina, these forces would have raised to 2,000 the total number of troops in the colony; however, the Pennsylvania and North Carolina recruits were not sent, nor did South Carolina raise its quota. See Minutes of Philadelphia Meeting, Mar. 15, 1756, Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., *The Papers of Colonel Henry Bouquet* (11 vols., Harrisburg, 1941-2), Series 21631-2, 81-2 (hereafter *Bouquet Papers*).

<sup>8</sup> Loudoun to Bouquet, Apr. 24, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 83-6. A Swiss national, Bouquet was described as "a very good Officer, and one that I flatter myself you will be perfectly pleased with" by Loudoun in a letter to Lyttelton, Apr. 24, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 15-7.

<sup>9</sup> Journals of the Commons House of Assembly (hereafter JCH), May 5, 1757, South Carolina Archives Department, XXXI, 107-8.

<sup>10</sup> Bouquet to Loudoun, June 23, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 15-7.

met on June 20, it immediately turned its attention to the problem of providing permanent housing for the troops, and on July 6, the Commons House voted £4,000 Carolina currency to repair some old barracks and to build enough new pine-timber ones to accommodate all of Bouquet's troops.<sup>11</sup> No provision was made for bedding, barracks furniture, or kitchen utensils, however. Work was immediately begun on the new barracks.<sup>12</sup> In the meantime, the Royal Americans remained in their original campsite, which unfortunately was not well chosen. Bad water and heat caused some sickness,<sup>13</sup> and the lack of enough straw for bedding added to the troop's discomfort. When mid-summer rains flooded the camp at the end of July, Bouquet was forced to apply to Governor Lyttelton for temporary quarters in town until the new barracks had been completed. Accordingly, the commissary general rented rooms from housekeepers for both the officers and the subalterns,<sup>14</sup> and the troops were assigned to four empty houses without beds or other furniture where all but 160, who were quartered in public houses on September 21, were to remain until the following February.

The departure of 100 of the Virginians to Georgia on August 27 temporarily eased the quartering situation slightly,<sup>15</sup> but it soon became more difficult than ever. On September 3 Montgomery arrived from Great Britain with the First Highland Battalion consisting of 1,000 men and 113 supernumeraries. Charleston now contained over 1,700 troops, and the barracks voted the previous July were still unfinished. As a result temporary accommodations again had to be found. The officers of the Highlanders, like those of the Royal Americans, were provided with lodgings in private houses hired by the commissary, but the re-

<sup>11</sup> JCH, July 6, 1757, XXXI, 155-6; Lyttelton to Loudoun, July 15, 1757, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Loudoun Papers (hereafter Loudoun Papers), LO 3945.

<sup>12</sup> See Journals of Commissioners of Fortifications, July 21, 28, 1757, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

<sup>13</sup> During the period of adjustment immediately after the troops' arrival sickness was apparently quite prevalent. According to Bouquet, who, one suspects, was somewhat inclined to exaggerate, only five were ill when they arrived but within a week there were either thirty-one or fifty on the sick list, depending on to whom he was writing (Bouquet to Loudoun and to Col. John Stanwix, June 23, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 15, 23). By the end of August, however, after the men had moved into town, the number ill had been reduced to twenty-seven (Bouquet to Stanwix, Aug. 25, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 26131-2, 58-9).

<sup>14</sup> Representation of Field Officers, Dec. 2, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21643, 16-18.

<sup>15</sup> Bouquet to Lt. Gov. Henry Ellis, Aug. 26, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 71.

mainder of the battalion was quartered "in a Half finished Church without Windows [St. Michael's (?)], in Damp Store Houses upon the Quay, and in empty Houses where most of the Men were obliged to ly upon the Ground without Straw or any sort of Covering." The unhealthiness of these quarters was blamed by Bouquet and Montgomery for a rash of illnesses which beset the Highlanders throughout the fall. Upon its arrival the battalion had only sixteen sick, but within a month an estimated 500 were ill, and by the end of November nearly sixty had perished.<sup>16</sup> Losses might have been even heavier had not some of the inhabitants generously taken 187 of the more distressed Highlanders into their homes during the early fall.<sup>17</sup> In September, Bouquet wrote Governor Henry Ellis of Georgia that he would "prefer to make two Campaigns, than to settle the Quarters in any of our American Towns,"<sup>18</sup> and a month later he complained to Loudoun, "the greatest difficulty consists still in settling the Quarters in Town, the eternal Struggle in America."<sup>19</sup> Both he and Montgomery urged Lyttelton to provide better quarters for the troops, and their urgings were reinforced by a letter from Loudoun which warned the governor that if the Highlanders were not well quartered, "those New Raw Men . . . will be very sickly in Your Climate."<sup>20</sup>

Actually, Lyttelton was powerless to make any permanent quartering arrangements without approval and funds from the Commons House of Assembly, which was not scheduled to meet until early October. When the Commons did convene on October 7, however, Lyttelton strongly recommended that permanent quarters be provided for the newly arrived Highland Battalion. The Commons responded quickly and generously as it had done the previous July in providing for the construction of barracks for the Royal Americans. It voted to build additional barracks to house a thousand men, and construction was begun at once.<sup>21</sup> Again, however, despite protests from Bouquet, the Commons was allowed to adjourn for three weeks without providing bedding, barracks furniture, or kitchen utensils for either the Highlanders or the Royal Americans. The failure of the Commons to pro-

<sup>16</sup> Representation of Field Officers, Dec. 2, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21643, 16-7.

<sup>17</sup> Montgomery to Loudoun, Oct. 22, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 4689.

<sup>18</sup> Bouquet to Ellis, Sept. 17, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 98.

<sup>19</sup> Bouquet to Loudoun, Oct. 16, 1757, *ibid.*, 112.

<sup>20</sup> Loudoun to Lyttelton, Sept. 8, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 4429.

<sup>21</sup> JCH, Oct. 7, 14, 1757, Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office (hereafter CO) 5/474, 3-4, 10; Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Nov. 3, 1757, CO 5/376, 15-6.

vide these articles was extremely displeasing to Bouquet. In a letter to Colonel John Stanwix he complained somewhat unfairly that the troops were "much neglected," adding bitterly "there is no Danger that We shall fall in Love with South Carolina, if We had any Inclination that Way, their genteel Proceedings with us would soon cure us of it."<sup>22</sup> Montgomery was also annoyed. He was particularly distressed by the Commons' neglecting to provide bedding, and he wrote Loudoun that he wished to be "free of those honest Planters," requesting that the Highlanders be transferred to the north.<sup>23</sup>

It cannot be denied that the quartering arrangements in Charleston left considerable to be desired, but it is highly probable, as Lyttelton later maintained in a report to the Board of Trade, that both Bouquet and Montgomery exaggerated the plight of their troops. Certainly the officers were well lodged in private homes at the expense of the colony, and the rest of the troops were accommodated in town in the best temporary quarters available without imposing on private homes. In addition, firewood, candles, pepper, salt, and small beer or its equivalent in rum were furnished the troops at the public expense, and hospitals with all necessaries had been provided for the sick. As a matter of fact, the colony had spent over £20,000 Carolina currency (nearly £3,000 sterling) exclusive of the money appropriated to build barracks in accommodating the troops between June and December 1, 1757. In addition, Lyttelton had promised to press the Commons to make provision for bedding and other barracks equipment at its next sitting.<sup>24</sup>

When it reconvened in November, the Commons, at Lyttelton's recommendation, agreed to furnish bedding and barracks equipment for the troops. It voted to supply the enlisted men with firewood, candles, lanterns, brooms, pails, axes, and beds including bedding and one blanket for every two men. It also voted to pay the subalterns seven shillings Carolina currency (one shilling sterling) per day in lieu of quarters and necessaries until barracks were constructed for them.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, however, the Commons, for reasons that are not entirely clear, decided to discontinue bearing the expense of quartering some eighty-one staff officers, captains, and field officers<sup>26</sup> after De-

<sup>22</sup> Bouquet to Stanwix, Oct. 27, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 119.

<sup>23</sup> Montgomery to Loudoun, Oct. 22, 1757, *Loudoun Papers*, LO 4689.

<sup>24</sup> Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 2, 1758, CO 5/376, 71-3. See also Account of Charges for accommodating King's Forces, June 1-Dec. 1, 1757, *Lyttelton Papers*.

<sup>25</sup> JCH, Dec. 1, 1757, *Loudoun Papers*, LO 4929.

<sup>26</sup> See Bouquet to Lyttelton, Feb. 28, 1758, *Lyttelton Papers*.



ember 1. Accordingly, it ordered Lieutenant Doyley, assistant to the commissary general—an officer nominated, paid, and manipulated by the Commons<sup>27</sup>—to inform all housekeepers who were quartering officers that for the future those officers were to pay for their lodgings themselves.<sup>28</sup>

Bouquet found much cause for dissatisfaction in these arrangements. He felt that the provisions for bedding and firewood were inadequate and objected particularly to the Commons' decision not to pay for the officers' quarters. He contended that officers of all ranks were entitled to quarters at the expense of the colony and made it clear that he did not intend to accept this decision by ordering the officers to keep possession of their quarters.<sup>29</sup> That the officers themselves were not to bear the expense of their lodgings was implicit in his order. As far as he was concerned, if the housekeepers with whom the officers were lodged were to receive compensation, they would have to look to the Commons. On the other hand, if the housekeepers were paid by neither the Commons nor the officers and if the officers continued in their rooms against the wishes of the housekeepers, it would be a clear case of the arbitrary quartering of troops upon the householder without his consent and a violation of one of the traditional rights of Englishmen.

Bouquet presented his objections to Governor Lyttelton and asked him to urge the Commons to provide quarters for the officers. He also requested the governor to seek several other articles from the representatives including a blanket for each man; more firewood for the soldiers; and more generous provisions of firewood, candles, and vinegar for the guard houses and hospitals. Lyttelton considered Bouquet's request reasonable. He urged the Commons to provide for the expenses of quartering the officers and pointed out the need for most of the other articles requested by Bouquet.<sup>30</sup>

Lyttelton thought that the prospects for obtaining all of the items requested were good. Before the Commons had reached a decision, however, Bouquet without Lyttelton's knowledge went directly to the

<sup>27</sup> See Jack P. Greene, "The Quest for Power of the Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1730-1763" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1956).

<sup>28</sup> Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 2, 1758, CO 5/376, 71-3. The Commons' motives for this action are difficult to explain. Probably, however, it was just an economy measure designed to relieve the colony of an expense which the Commons thought the officers could better afford to bear.

<sup>29</sup> Bouquet to Loudoun, Dec. 10, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 131.

<sup>30</sup> Lyttelton to Loudoun, Dec. 10, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 4987.

speaker, Benjamin Smith, and told him that he would insist upon only two of the things requested: that the colony defray the costs of housing the officers and that it provide a blanket for each soldier. In addition, Bouquet suggested that the colony's expenses might be reduced by petitioning General Loudoun either to recall a part of the troops or to procure a grant from the Crown to cover part of the cost of quartering the soldiers. The Commons followed neither of Bouquet's suggestions, but his words—as Lyttelton later lamented—appealed to “every Man that might wish to be economical in that House” with the result that it would do no more than provide a blanket for each man and grant an additional allowance of one cord of firewood per week to each company. It remained adamant in its refusal to pay for the quarters of the officers.<sup>31</sup>

None of the parties concerned was satisfied with the outcome of this affair. Angered because Bouquet had negotiated directly with the Commons without his consent, Lyttelton wrote Loudoun asking that Bouquet be recalled.<sup>32</sup> Bouquet resented the Commons' continued refusal to provide quarters for the officers,<sup>33</sup> while the Commons was alarmed by Bouquet's ordering his officers to keep possession of their lodgings without paying for them. Quickly perceiving the dangers inherent in that order, it wrote into the preamble of a bill to regulate the services a clause setting forth that “it is impracticable to quarter or billet Soldiers in this Province for want of Inns, Taverns, Victualling Houses, and other such Houses as Soldiers are quarter'd in by the Laws of Great Britain.”<sup>34</sup> This clause was obviously intended to protect South Carolinians from having troops arbitrarily quartered in their homes without their consent. When the measure was presented to Lyttelton for his consent, he quickly recognized the intent of this clause, reporting to

<sup>31</sup> JCH, Dec. 8, 1757, CO 5/474, 38-9. Lyttelton attributed Bouquet's action to his desire to be continued in command in the colony, where he was endeavouring to acquire property. According to Lyttelton, Bouquet hoped that a petition by the Commons to Loudoun for the removal of part of the troops in the colony would produce the recall of Montgomery and the Highlanders and leave him securely in command (Lyttelton to Loudoun, Dec. 10, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 4987). See also Lyttelton to Brig. Gen. John Forbes, May 20, 1758, Lyttelton Papers.

<sup>32</sup> See Lyttelton's two letters to Loudoun, Dec. 10, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 4987, 6852.

<sup>33</sup> Bouquet to Loudoun Dec. 10, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 129-31.

<sup>34</sup> This bill was drawn up by an able and distinguished committee headed by Thomas Middleton and composed of John Rattray, Henry Laurens, Peter Manigault, Robert Pringle, Charles Pinckney, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lamboll, and William Drayton (JCH, Oct. 21, 1757, XXXII, 23).



the Board of Trade that it "was meant to be a kind of Parliamentary declaration that Troops shou'd never be quarter'd or billeted here upon Private Houses." Because it contained this clause and several other objectionable ones, the bill was rejected by Lyttelton, and the Commons' first attempt to write into law a specific declaration against the quartering of troops on the subject without his consent failed; but it was a harbinger of things to come.<sup>35</sup>

The Commons adjourned on December 9 and did not meet again until mid-January; during the interim the situation of the soldiers remained unchanged. The subalterns and private soldiers continued in the temporary quarters that they had occupied since their arrival,<sup>36</sup> and most of the officers in obedience to Bouquet's order retained their quarters without regard for the Commons' resolution to discontinue bearing the cost of those quarters after December 1. The return on December 9 of two companies of Virginians from Georgia temporarily added to the number of troops in Charleston, but they left for Virginia in the middle of January.<sup>37</sup> Work was continued on the new barracks, but they still were not ready for occupancy.

When the Commons reconvened on January 18, Lyttelton requested a sum to build barracks for the officers. Still smarting over the defiance that Bouquet, Montgomery, and their officers had displayed toward its resolution of the previous December, the Commons had no intention of granting Lyttelton's request.<sup>38</sup> However, on February 10, it did resolve to

<sup>35</sup> Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 22, 1757, CO 5/376, 39-40.

<sup>36</sup> Bouquet to Forbes, Feb. 1, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 139-41.

<sup>37</sup> Bouquet to Ellis, Dec. 10, 1757, and to Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie, Dec. 16, 1757, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 128, 132.

<sup>38</sup> JCH, Jan. 24, 1757, CO 5/474, 47. As a matter of fact, the rather generous expenditures already made for barracks and necessities required an unusually high tax levy (Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 22, 1757, CO 5/376, 39-40), and the representatives were reluctant to put an additional burden on their constituents. In addition, the Commons' discovery at the end of the December session that Alexander Montgomery, quarter master of the Highland Regiment, had endeavoured to induce the colony's assistant commissary to pay for more wood than the soldiers needed and split the overcharge between them did nothing to better relations between the Commons and the forces (Commons to Lyttelton, Dec. 6, 1757, *Lyttelton Papers*). Likewise, the action of several of the soldiers of the Royal Americans in burning some of the materials for the new barracks for heat, partly stripping a shed of its covering, and threatening further damage if additional firewood were not furnished them did not endear the troops to the legislators (Complaint of Commissioners of Fortifications to Lyttelton, Dec. 22, 1757, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Transcripts of the Papers of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Bouquet (hereafter *Bouquet Transcripts*), XIII, 68-9).

grant £3,750 Carolina currency to construct a row of barracks, although it took pains to specify that the barracks were to house only the subalterns.<sup>39</sup> The careful omission from this resolution of any reference to the officers left little doubt that the Commons did not intend to furnish barracks for them or to defray the cost of their quarters.

In the meantime, in early December, General Loudoun had received Bouquet's and Montgomery's October letters complaining of the failure of the colony to provide bedding, furniture, and kitchen utensils for the new barracks. He immediately wrote Lyttelton that "Barracks are no Quarters till provided with. . . Utensils, Bedding etc" and urged him to intercede with the Commons so that the inhabitants might "ease themselves from having the Troops in their Houses." Loudoun's words were plain enough: if bedding, furniture, and kitchen utensils were not provided for the barracks, the troops would be quartered, forcibly if necessary, in private homes. There "can be no Arguments," Loudoun declared, "drawn from that strange Notion that had entered into the Heads of some People in this Country, that the Articles of War did not extend to this Country, and that of Course the King had no Right to Quarters here, in this Part of His Dominions."<sup>40</sup>

In a letter to Bouquet Loudoun deplored the colony's failure to supply the forces with "the common necessary's of Life which they are by Law bound to furnish them" and directed Bouquet "in case the Assembly have Continued obstinate in not furnishing the Barracks with every requisite of Barracks, That You directly demand quarters in Town, for as many of the Troops as You find necessary either for the safety of the Place or for the general Service in carrying on the War." In the event that the Commons refused to grant Bouquet quarters in town, Loudoun boldly ordered him to quarter the troops by his own authority. However, this letter was accompanied by a second one—more moderate in tone and intended only for Bouquet—which cautioned him to "Act very Tenderly" in the matter.<sup>41</sup> Fortunately, Loudoun's bold order did not have to be carried out. The Commons had agreed the previous December to supply the troops with bedding, furniture, and kitchen utensils. As a matter of fact, by the time this order arrived on February 13, many of the barracks were completed, and within a week the troops were taking possession of them.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> JCH, Feb. 10, 1757, CO 5/474, 77.

<sup>40</sup> Loudoun to Lyttelton, Dec. 6, 1757, Lyttelton Papers.

<sup>41</sup> See Loudoun's two letters to Bouquet, Dec. 25, 1757, Loudoun Papers, LO 5099, and Bouquet Transcripts, X, 18-19.

<sup>42</sup> Bouquet to Stanwix, Feb. 21, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21631-2, 149-50.

With the private soldiers comfortably settled in their new quarters and barracks under construction for the subalterns, only one point remained to be settled: who was to pay for quartering the officers for the period since November 30 and in the future. Bouquet was determined that the colony and not the officers should bear this expense. On February 28 he wrote Lyttelton that "in all the Northern Provinces. . . Officers of all Ranks are billeted in private houses without distinction" and insisted that the officers in South Carolina be quartered at the expense of the colony "either in Barracks properly furnish'd, or in the Town."<sup>43</sup> Lyttelton referred Bouquet's letter to the Commons on March 9 and in an accompanying message requested that the Commons provide quarters for the officers and grant an allowance for the housekeepers, who since November 30 had been lodging the officers without compensation from either the army or the colony.<sup>44</sup> But the Commons was in no mood to comply with these requests. It had not changed its opinion on the matter since December, and as far as it was concerned, the officers, having stayed in their quarters without paying for them, had violated the privilege of the subject to be free from having troops quartered in his home without his consent. Consequently, on March 18 in a message prepared by a committee headed by John Rattray and composed of most of the leading members of the house including Peter Manigault, Christopher Gadsden, Charles Pinckney, Henry Laurens, and Rawlins Lowndes,<sup>45</sup> the Commons acquainted Lyttelton that its grant to the subalterns was only one "of Favor" and declined to furnish quarters for the officers. More significantly, however, it declared "*that Officers and Soldiers cannot, legally or constitutionally, be quarter'd in private Houses, without the special Consent of the Owners or Possessors of such Houses.*"<sup>46</sup>

This forceful and forthright declaration constituted a challenge to Bouquet and his officers. The South Carolina Commons House of Assembly was determined to resist any attempt to abridge the rights and privileges of its constituents even if it meant defying a force the size of Bouquet's. Its declaration was a restatement by an American legislature of one of the traditional rights of Englishmen. Indeed, it was an early manifestation of that same spirit that animated all of the Amer-

<sup>43</sup> Bouquet to Lyttelton, Feb. 28, 1758, Lyttelton Papers.

<sup>44</sup> JCH, Mar. 9, 1758, CO 5/474, 92.

<sup>45</sup> Other members of the committee were Isaac Mazyck, Peter Taylor, Thomas Lamboll, Daniel Crawford, David Groome, John Guerard, and Egerton Leigh (JCH, Mar. 19, 1758, XXXII, 132).

<sup>46</sup> JCH, Mar. 18, 18, CO 5/474, 100, 103-4. The italics are those of the author.

ican legislatures in their resistance to Parliamentary violations of those rights in the following two decades.

Perhaps fortunately, Bouquet was unable to accept the Commons' challenge. He and the Royal Americans were recalled by Loudoun at Lyttelton's request,<sup>47</sup> and they left the colony for Philadelphia around March 20. The officers left without paying the housekeepers for their quarters, although they did with Lyttelton's approval give certificates to the housekeepers for the amount due them from November 30 to March 20.<sup>48</sup> Similar arrangements were made in May by Montgomery and the officers of the Highlanders when they were ordered north by Brigadier General John Forbes, Loudoun's successor as commander-in-chief of the forces in America.<sup>49</sup> The departure of the Highlanders left the colony with only three companies of independent troops dispersed along the frontier and thus put an end to the disputes over quartering<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See Loudoun's two letters, one public and the other private, to Lyttelton, Feb. 13, 1758, Lyttelton Papers.

<sup>48</sup> Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 2, 1758, CO 5/376, 71-3. See also Agreement for clearing quarters, Mar. 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, Series 21643, 33.

<sup>49</sup> Forbes to Lyttelton, Apr. 24, 1758; Lyttelton to Forbes, May 20, 1758, Lyttelton, Papers.

<sup>50</sup> James Abercromby to Lyttelton, Mar. 16, 1758, Lyttelton Papers. Despite Lyttelton's insistence, the Commons House as late as March 1759 refused to honor the certificates that the officers had left with the housekeepers (JCH, Feb. 3, Mar. 7, 9, 1759, XXXII, 107, 143, 152).

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEAVER CREEK CHURCHYARD, KERSHAW COUNTY

Contributed by PERRY B. BENNETT HOUGH<sup>1</sup>

Beaver Creek Presbyterian Church, located about six miles west of Kershaw in Kershaw County, has been in existence since 1771. An interesting link in the chain of its unbroken history may be found in a secluded spot several miles from the present building and cemetery. It is the old burying ground marking the site of the first house of worship erected in 1772 near the creek whose name it took. For more than fifty years this was the only Presbyterian Church within a day's ride on horse-back. This building continued to be used until 1856, when it was abandoned because of its dilapidated condition and isolated location. The congregation moved to the off-spring chapel "Mount Bethel," formerly called "Millers," which took the name Beaver Creek and continued the old organization in the new location.

There is no visible evidence of the site of the original meeting house. The grounds have reverted to their primeval state and the roads to trails. But the embankment surrounding the few remaining time-worn tombstones clearly outlines the old burying ground now overcast by trees.<sup>2</sup>

About 1852 the children of William and Nancy Louisa Cunningham McWillie financed the construction of a hewn granite enclosure for the McWillie graves. This 30 x 40 structure, built under the direction of William M. Shannon, Sr., of Camden, contains eight marked graves.

### *[Graves within enclosure]*

Sacred to the memory of Col. Adam McWillie who departed this life on the 23rd of April 1827 in the 61st year of his age. He was a native of Ireland but early in life, removed to this neighborhood where he continued to reside until his death. He left a wife and seven children to lament their bereavement.

T. WALKER.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Ben C. Hough, Jr., 410 Chesterfield Avenue, Lancaster, S. C.

Mrs. Hough, past regent and historian of the Waxhaws Chapter, D. A. R., is secretary of the Lancaster County Historical Commission.

<sup>2</sup> Those interested in visiting this churchyard are directed as follows: From Heath Springs follow State Highway No. 522 to Stoneboro. Passing C. V. Hammond's store (on right), travel 8 miles south on dirt road connecting No. 522 with No. 265, crossing 2 small wooden bridges over Beaver Creek. Continue one-half mile on this road up the hill, then, by foot, about one-fourth mile eastwardly along an old wagon road, which is often filled with undergrowth and difficult to trace. The old cemetery with the McWillie enclosure lies on the right, easily visible, in a grove of old oak and other hardwood trees.

Sacred to the memory of Adam McWillie, Junr. who departed this life on the 21st of October 1829 in the 23rd year of his age.

T.WALKER.

Sacred To the Memory of James Davidson McWillie Who departed this life on the 3rd of October 1823 Aged 18 years 11 months.

Sacred To the Memory of Albert McWillie who departed this life on the 14th of September 1822 In the 23rd year of his age.

T.WALKER, Charln.

To the Memory of Mrs. Nancy Louisa McWillie Wife of William McWillie, Eqr. who died on the 6th of April 1827 in the 29th year of her age.

T.WALKER, Chston.

To The Memory of Margaret Jane Daughter of Wm and Nancy L. McWillie who departed this life November 15th 1824 Aged 15 months and 21 days.

T.WALKER, Chston.

Sacred To the Memory of George Sarsfield McWillie who departed this life on the 18th of October 1815 Aged 5 years and 7 months.

Sacred to the Memory of Dr: John Mackey who departed this life on the 31st of January, 1826, in the 31st year of his age. He was an Irishman by birth and received his education in Glasgow. He died in the morning of his usefulness, leaving a wife and two children to lament his untimely death.

T. WALKER.

*[Graves outside enclosure]*

Margret Carruth

In memory of Col. N. Barber who departed this life June 6th 1832 in the 52nd year of his age.

A. BROWN, Columbia

In memory of Mary Barber wife of Col. N. Barber who departed this life September 11th, 1836 in the 52nd year of her age.

Sacred To the Memory of Andrew B. Shannon who departed this life October 24th, 1813 Aged 29 years: Leaving an affectionate wife and freinds to deplore his loss.

This Monument Is dedicated by an only and disconsolate Son, to the Memory of Elizabeth Dunlap who departed this Life August 17th, 1800, Aged sixty-seven Years.

Sacred To the Memory of Sam'l McKee who departed this life July 24th, 1815. Aged 50 years: leaving an affectionate Wife and friends to deplore his loss.

To the memory of William A. Russel who died May the 2nd, 1822, Aged 31 years and 11 months and 17 days.

To the memory of Emely Lenora Russel the Daughter of William and Elizabeth M. Russel who died Sept 7th, 1827, aged 8 years and 7 months and 9 days.

To the memory of Esther Hood who died Oct. the 3rd, 1817. Aged 69 years.

To the memory of William Hood, who was born May 18th, 1750 and died Jan. 25th 1828.

To the memory of Jane, wife to William Hood, was born in 1757 and died Jany 28th, 1828.

To the Memory of William J. son of Samuel and Eliza J. Hood who departed this life January 20th 1832. Aged 5 months and 4 days.

To the memory of Eleanor Thompson wife of Peter Thompson She was born in the year of our Lord 1763 and died the 28th of Oct. 1825 She was a Presbyterian by Profession and died in the faith.

W. Thompson son of Peter Thompson and Eleanor his wife. He was born on the 26th of Novr A. D. 1787 And died the 10th of Octr A. D. 1826.

Sacred To the memory of Sarah Thompson wife of William Thompson and daughter of James and Elizabeth Shropshire Born A.D. 1793 and died the 12th of May A.D. 1819.

Sacred To the Memory of John Shropshire son of James and Elizabeth Shropshire He was born July 16th A.D. 1796 and died February 18th 1825.

To The Memory of Agness L. Dye wife of Charles L. Dye who died on the 26th of July, 1832 in the 33rd year of her age.



## RECOLLECTIONS OF JOHN SAFFORD STONEY, CONFEDERATE SURGEON

Contributed by JOHN LAURENS TISON, JR.\*

Edited by SAMUEL G. STONEY

The original of these memoirs cannot be located. The present copy, made by Dr. Tison's father, indicates that Dr. Stoney must have written long after the events, and also that he was gifted with a family weakness in orthography. Wherever possible, errors in names have been corrected.

John Stoney (1780-1838), a native of Beaufort District, came to "town" at the turn of the century and became a highly successful business man. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Peter Gaillard of the Rocks. He planted Calibogue and other plantations on Hilton Head and in what had been Devil's Elbow Barony. In 1827 he bought the William Rhett House (built c. 1712), which had belonged to Christopher Fitz Simons and to the second Christopher, husband of Stoney's daughter Elizabeth,<sup>1</sup> and was living here when this narrative begins. His eldest surviving son was Peter Gaillard Stoney (1809-1884), who married Anna Maria Porcher (1811-1896). Their oldest child, John Safford Stoney (1832-1897), was born the year before his parents settled in the old Van Arsens house (built 1686) on the Medway, or Back River. Enlarging the plantation, Peter Gaillard made brick and rice and raised Stoneys and race horses. His second son, Thomas Porcher Stoney, was a "Forty-niner" or almost one. Returning from California, he fought for the Confederacy, then went back to a highly successful law career in San Francisco. His wife and child were at his father's in '65.

I was born in the village of Pineville, in what was St. Stephen's Parish, Charleston District, South Carolina, on the 30th day of June, 1832. Pineville was at that time a prosperous village and the summer resort of all the planters in that section of the country.

About the earliest event that I can remember was going on a steamboat to Calibogue Plantation on Hilton Head Island. There was no wharf, but when the steamer arrived opposite the plantation, the bell was sounded and a large row boat came out for us and we were taken out in the arms of the negro women and landed on land. We remained on the island sometime, and I remember my first horseback ride was taken

\* 182 Greenwood Court, Athens, Georgia.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Fitz Simons later on came into possession of the Rhett House, which she sold in 1873. Her son, Dr. Christopher Fitz Simons, practiced in the Back River neighborhood.



then. I rode a sorrel mare on the beach, Father leading her by a handkerchief tied to the bridle. She stumbled and I fell on her neck and bloodied my nose. I also recollect when Girth, a young thoroughbred filley, running with a lot of horses and mules around the yard, cut her leg very badly by stepping upon a broken basin. The mare fully recovered, though. She ran one or two good races in Charleston.

I recollect the Big Fire in Charleston when a large portion of the city was burnt.<sup>2</sup> We were living at Back River at the time and I went down with the family a day or so after. It was said to have been light enough at Back River to pick up a pin. My grandfather's house in Hasell Street was the only one left for many squares around. My aunt's house next door was burnt.

I remember when my grandfather died in Philadelphia and his body was brought on by steamer. I attended the funeral at St. Michael's Church.

I first went to school at nine years of age to the Misses Murden, on Society Street near King.<sup>3</sup> Miss Malvina, Miss Victoria, Miss Octavia (afterwards Mrs. Sass), and Miss Rosaline kept the school. Mrs. Murden kept the house and whipped the big boys. A year after the school was moved nearer to Meeting Street to the Black lot. In these times from my grandfather's house to the school was through open lots, all the houses having been burnt. I continued with them three years.

In 1844 I saw my first race. Col. William DuBose and Mr. William Sinkler took my brother Thomas and me to see the Four Mile Heat Race when Regent beat Lucy Abbott, Hero, and three others. In the second race, Father's mare Girth, trained by Mr. Sinkler, ran second in a field of four. I went with them from what was [then the Carolina] Hotel, but is now the Confederate Home.

In 1845 I went to a school kept by the Rev. P. T. Babbitt in a large brick building back in the lot in Glebe Street.<sup>4</sup> The house is now hid by buildings in front on Wentworth Street. Mr. Coates' celebrated school for boys was next door. Among the boys who were with me at Babbitt's

<sup>2</sup> In April 1838, 145 acres of Charleston were burned over. Hasell Street practically halved the area, which ran from King Street north-east to Cooper River.

<sup>3</sup> The Murdens kept their esteemed school on Society Street until the War. Afterward they moved it to the home of Mrs. Sass on Legare Street. Her daughters took command of it in 1870 and continued it until just before the first World War. It celebrated an eighty-fifth anniversary in 1913. See *News and Courier*, May 10, of that year.

<sup>4</sup> Babbitt's school apparently was in the Glebe House of St. Philip's Parish, built about 1770.

were Dr. T. Gaillard Thomas, now of New York; Dr. G. E. Prescott, of Greenville; and Major T. G. Boag, Clerk of the Court of Charleston County. During my school days in Charleston we used to go to bathe at the foot of Wentworth and Beaufain Streets, and afterwards at the Bathing House on the Battery. Gaillard and Paul Fitz Simons and my brother Thomas were the set raised with me. We generally spent from Friday afternoon to Monday morning on Sullivan's Island, where my aunt, Mrs. Christopher Fitz Simons, had a house and some of the family spent the summer there. It was a free and easy place in those days. A garrison was kept at Fort Moultrie at that time. General Sherman was a lieutenant [there just before] those days.

In 1846 I was sent up to Mr. Stephen Lee's school near Asheville, N.C. In those days the railroad ran only to Columbia. I went with Mr. James Sinkler and his son William as far as Columbia. Next morning he put us into the stage for Spartanburg and he returned home. William was made my charge. The night after leaving Spartanburg, when we got to the foot of the mountains, the snow was so deep that the stage could not go over. So here we were detained at old man Harris's for two weeks. We had a fine time riding and roaming about the mountains. Finally Mr. Lee heard of us and sent his son Miles leading two horses and we went to school by this means. When the snow melted and the coach could cross over, our trunks were sent on to us. The school was situated at Patton's farm on the Swananoa River about four miles from Asheville. A good many South Carolina boys attended. At this late date, I can call to mind the following: Christopher and John Gaillard; John G. K. Gourdin; George, Joseph, and Samuel Logan; Daniel Howard; Edward Simons; Wilson Bachman; Winborn Lawton; Van Rhyn Lee; Hutson Lee; General Stephen D. Lee; David Gaillard; and John Kincaid, M.D., who died in Paris afterwards. And from North Carolina, the Hardys, Gaithers, Pattens, Gillalands, Rankins, and Stradley. This school was what was known in those early times as a Manual Laboring School. We got up at 5 a.m., and from 5:30 were in class until 7 a.m., and after breakfast until 2 p.m. After dinner we all went into the fields and worked until sunset. We did all the work except plowing and wagoning, which were done by his eldest son and a negro man. On Sundays we all walked in to Asheville to church and on Saturdays we roamed in the mountains hunting. I remained two years at this school, being treated very kindly by Dr. Hardy's family, whose daughter Emma afterwards married Mr. Gilbert Tennant of Charleston.

In 1847 I went to Mt. Zion Academy in Winnsboro, where I remained for three years. My uncle and aunt, the Theodore S. DuBoses,

lived three miles out of town and we spent every Friday to Monday morning with their family. Those of us who went out most frequently were myself, my brother Thomas, Paul Fitz Simons, John Gaillard, Theodore Gaillard, William Sinkler; Charles, Richard and Moultrie Dwight; Aleck Porcher, and Edw. Hutchinson.

In December, 1850, I went to the South Carolina College and entered the Junior class. Paul Fitz Simons was my roommate. Maj. Thomas W. Woodward and the Rev. J. E. Dunlap roomed opposite. I spent two pleasant years, and after passing and rising to the Senior class, in January, 1853, I joined in the famous Steward's Hall Rebellion and got an honorable discharge. Among my classmates in college were R. W. Boyd, a lawyer at Darlington Court House; J. H. Evans, M. C.; J. C. Coit, Maj. C. S. A.; Lucius Cuthbert, minister of the Baptist Church; John G. Gaillard; General Gary; Paul Fitz Simons; DuBose Porcher; E[dmund] Rhett; the Rev. T. G. Herbert; P. P. Lock; James Lowndes, a lawyer in Washington; John I. Middleton, a merchant in Baltimore; Maj. T. D. Woodward; Theodore Lang; M. N. Holstein; and Dr. W. A. Ramsey.

On my return home, instead of going to another college as some of my fellow-students did, I began the study of medicine. I entered the office of Dr. Peter C. Gaillard on Broad Street between Meeting and King on the North side. I remained at his office for two years, graduating in March, 1855 [from the Medical College of South Carolina].

The last of April, 1855, I left home for Paris, France, to continue my study of medicine.

I reached Richmond on May 1st and went with my friend Col. Thomas W. Doswell<sup>5</sup> to the Fairfield Racetrack to see a Colt Stake race. Doswell's Pasta ran second. Col. Talley's colt won. I took a train in the afternoon and spent a portion of the next day in Washington, where I got my passport from the Honorable W.L. Marcy, Secretary of State. I went on to Philadelphia that night, but found it difficult to obtain a lodging place for the night. The American Medical Association was then in session. I met Dr. A. Coffin of Aiken and Dr. T. T. Robertson of

<sup>5</sup> The Doswell horses were eminently excellent, racing at meets all the way from New York to New Orleans. The apex of the Stoney connection with them was in February 1861, when Col. James Ferguson's Cooper River-bred mare, Albine, sired by Peter Gaillard Stoney's Jeff Davis, defeated Planet, then the pride of the Doswell stables, in two four-mile heats on the Washington Race Course. The first, the fastest ever clocked there, was run in 7 minutes, 36 1/2 seconds, official time, 4 1/2 seconds faster according to others. The time was comparative, as the course was notoriously heavy and therefore slow.

Winnboro at the meeting. I went on to New York where I got my circular letter of credit and engaged passage on the Steamer "St. Louis," an old steamer that was put on in the place of the regular steamer then undergoing repairs.

At twelve noon on Saturday we steamed out from New York and landed in Havre, France, on that day, fortnight. When we were off the banks of Newfoundland about midnight the vessel ran into an immense iceburg and was very badly damaged, but fortunately most of the damage was above the water line, and by slinging a sail under the vessel, most of the water was kept out. Had the vessel struck the iceburg directly instead of slanting, she would have sunk like lead. The day after, the engine broke down, so we had to float along for a day until it could be mended. The weather was mild, however. We experienced only one small storm on our voyage. On Thursday afternoon we sighted Lands End, the southermost point of England, and on Friday at mid-day we stopped at the Isle of Wight, opposite Southhampton. Here we remained several hours landing passengers for England and taking in a supply of fresh provisions and vegetables.

After steaming up, we crossed the English Channel for France. This day we had a royal dinner as is always the case in winding up a voyage. I made a good many pleasant acquaintances, some English and French, who were returning home after a long sojourn in America; some from California; and several Mexicans. I never met one of them after. I was sick most of the time but managed to get on deck almost every day.

During the morning we landed and after getting my baggage through the custom house I went to a hotel and remained until the next morning (Sunday), when I took the train for Paris. The next day I found my relative and chum Paul Fitzsimmons and my two college classmates, M.C. McLemon and Theodore Lang. I took rooms with them for some days until I could find a family to board with. I found a pleasant place with an old Frenchman and his wife, Mons. and Mme. Bezanson. [He was] an uncle to Dr. Honot whom I used to know in Columbia, an assistant to Dr. Fair. The old folks kept a paper and stationary store opposite the Odion Theatre and took boarders. No one could speak a word of English. I took French lessons from a Monsieur Jean, who had taught a good many Carolinians, and I began to attend the various hospitals, thus catching up a good many French words.

The World's Fair was open during my first summer, and among the crown heads whom I saw visiting Napoleon III and the Empress En-

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genie were Prince Albert and the Queen of England, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Victoria, who afterwards became the wife of the German Emperor. I saw many other crown heads during the summer.

Paul McLemon and Lang returned to America in the fall, but during my stay a good many other friends came. Among them were Dr. Tucker, Dr. Theodore Samuel Gourdin, Major Harry Hammond, Col. T.J. Lipscomb, Dr. Peter Griffin, Dr. Higgins, Dr. Crowder, Dr. J.E. Godfrey—all of South Carolina; then Dr. Means of Georgia, Drs. Moss and Kane of Pennsylvania (the latter a brother to the Arctic explorer), Dr. Gray of Alabama, Dr. Maham Haig, Dr. G.E. Manigault, David Mordecai (who died over there), Dr. Westmoreland of Atlanta, and several from New Orleans and California. During the summer of 1856 Dr. Lewis, his wife and his sister Nan and brother Alexander paid Paris a visit, and later on, John Stoney Porcher. Theodore Barker came on during the winter and he and I paid a visit to Versailles, where everything was covered with snow.

During the summer of 1856, in company with a young man from New York named C.J. Horley, I made a pedestrian tour of Belgium, the Rhine, and Switzerland, going down into Italy by way of Lake Como as far as Milan. We made all the best passes on the Alps and returned by way of Geneva and Lyons. We were absent five to six weeks and travelled with our knapsacks on our backs. We made one wonderful walk across one of the passes, having walked 44 miles in the day, and most of the day over perpetual snow with no vegetation visible for miles.

In the winter of 1856 our colony was increased by the arrival of Dr. F. T. Miles, Gervais Robertson, and Morton Waring, and with these gentlemen I visited Italy in the spring of 1857. They were all pleasant men and our journey was a most delightful one. We went from Paris to Marseilles; then we took a steamer on the Mediterranean and landed at Naples, from which city we took a four-horse vehicle and travelled to Rome; then to Florence where we met Mr. Pickering Dodge, his wife, who was a Miss Gilman of Charleston, and his pretty daughter Georgia by his first wife. We spent several pleasant evenings with them, at home, and at the opera. From Florence we went to Venice, where we saw everything that was to be seen. From here we went to Milan and then went by way of Lake Maggiore through Switzerland to Geneva, and then to Paris.

In 1857, Dr. Russell P. McCord, his two sisters, and young brother came on, and since I had known Miss Julia very intimately in Charleston

it added much to my pleasure. Miss Julia was a very pretty girl and attracted much attention in Paris when she went out. Her sister, Miss Mary, is now Mrs. Judge Magrath of Charleston. We all travelled back together to America, taking passage on the steamer "Vanderbilt" from Havre. We encountered a violent storm, but landed safely in New York in October, 1857, to find a panic in the money market. Broadway was lined with handsom carriages and horses offered for sale. Mr. Keating Simons, of Cooper River, was a passenger with me. He and I took passage together on a steamer for Charleston, where we landed safely the last of October, 1857.

From this time until the spring of 1858 I remained at Back River, practicing occasionally for Dr. Fitz Simons during his temporary absences. During this winter I attended the St. Cecilia Ball at the St. Andrew's Hall in Broad Street, where the Secession Convention was afterwards held in December, 1860. In January, 1858, I attended the races at Pineville, and in February the races at Charleston.

In the summer of '58 I went down to Sullivan's Island and took rooms in the Moultrie House, then kept by Daniel Mixon of the Charleston Hotel, and stuck up my shingle for the practice of medicine. I had a very pleasant time, going to two or three dances each week at the hotel and at private houses. I enjoyed a very fair practice until in July, when yellow fever was brought over from Charleston and several deaths occurred in the hotel. There was a perfect stampede and in several days the hotel was deserted and closed up. I then moved to my aunt's, Mrs. Fitz Simons, in whose family I had several cases of the fever. Old Dr. Horlbeck and Professor Julian Chisolm having gone North, they turned over their patients to me, and until October when the season of the Island closed I had enjoyed the largest practice on the Island. My biggest fee was a \$50 gold piece from Mrs. Judge Gould of Augusta, Georgia. I attended such people as the Rhett's, Miss Brisbane, the Misses Fishbourne, the Peronneaus [?], the W. B. Williams family, and Miss Laura Pontell [?], afterwards Mrs. Elizur Goodrich.

I had thought of settling in Charleston, but the chances of a young M. D. were so slow that I decided to try and find a good country locality. So in January, 1859, I took my saddle-bags on my horse and started for the Santee River, crossing on to Mt. Pleasant. A ride of forty lonely miles brought me to Mr. Alex. Mazyck's. I dined with Mr. William Lucas the next day, and visited among the people of the neighborhood, going to McClellanville, the summer resort. I remained three days and returned home deciding not to locate there as the practice was not large enough and could not be extended.



Soon after, Father, Uncle Dwight, and I started for Wilmington, N. C., to look at some rice plantations. Mr. Christopher Dudley, son of ex-Governor Dudley, and our friend Tom McIlhenny met us with carriages and drove us to a beautiful summer resort on the Sound, about seven miles from Wilmington. On our return we crossed the river and went down to Tom McIlhenny's place, where we remained a couple of days very pleasantly. We were well pleased with what we saw, but we did not buy.

In April, 1859, I went to Bluffton and Hilton Head and made the acquaintance of my Stoney relatives down there. During my stay at Bluffton I went with Col. J. J. Stoney to Gillisonville during Court Week. I remained two or three days at the house of Col. Frank Fickling, leaving him the last of the week when court was ended. I did not find any opening there, so I returned home. In Charleston, my Aunt, Mrs. M. P. Matheson, who had recently returned from a visit to the Lawtons at Allendale, told me that Dr. Ogilvie was giving up his practice and going to Georgia. The Lawtons wanted me to go up there and try the place. So in May, 1859, I went up to Allendale via Blackville and Barnwell. I remained several days and concluded to take the place if I could get the practice, though there were two or three doctors trying for it. I returned to Charleston and bought my outfits—horse, buggy, and medicines—and in June returned and settled in the family of the Reverend Joseph A. Lawton. Mrs. Lawton was a Miss Stoney and my Father's cousin. Mrs. J. V. Martin and Mrs. William M. Bostick had both gone to school at Barhamville near Columbia with my aunt, Betsy Porcher, and Carrie Couturier, my uncle Henry Porcher's wife; and my old school fellow Robert Martin had married Miss Erwin and lived at Erwinton. So I was taken in hand by these good friends and helped along.

There were two doctors settled in the neighborhood contending for the practice, Dr. Alex Norton, from Black Swamp, a relative of the Lawtons, and Dr. Anderson, from Georgia, who had married a young and handsome widow, formerly a Miss Trowell from Owen's Cross Roads. By the fall of the year I was left in full possession of the field and continued to enjoy a good practice.

In January, 1861, I married Miss Laura A. Allen, daughter of the late Leroy Allen and ward of P.H. Allen of Allendale. After our marriage we went down to Back River, where we remained until May.

After the fall of Sumter (the bombardment and surrender of which was witnessed by Laura and myself from a housetop near the Battery) we drove up to this place in a buggy, stopping the first night at my uncle Dwight's and the second at Walterboro. We crossed the Edisto

River at Parker's Ferry. We crossed the Salkehatchie River over Broxton's Bridge, a very high and dilapidated structure which soon after fell to pieces. The war having begun this summer, the Allendale Guards were formed by the men in this section with W. M. Bostick the Captain; Dr. B. W. Lawton, 1st. Lieut.; G. H. Kirkland, 2nd. Lieut.; Calvin Smart 3rd. Lieut.; and the writer, Jno. S. Stoney, Orderly Sergeant.

In the fall of '61 the Yankees captured Port Royal and Beaufort, and our company was ordered to join the forces on the coast. Our first camp was at old Pocotaligo and then at Gardens Corner. We remained in that section until February when we were disbanded. I returned home and in April of '62 joined the Charleston Light Dragoons, B. H. Rutledge, Capt.; R. H. Colcock, 1st. Lieut.; James W. O'Hear, 2nd. Lieut.; Lionel C. Nowell, 3rd. Lieut.; Edward Harleston, Orderly Sergeant; J. S. Stoney, 2nd Sergeant. I joined the Company between Coosawhatchie Station and Grahamville.

I remained with the Dragoons until the later part of May, when I received orders to go before the Medical Board to stand my examination as Assistant Surgeon to Hagood's First South Carolina Volunteers, which was stationed on the Citadel Green in Charleston. The next day [June 2] the enemy made an attack on James Island and we were hurried on at night, first stopping at the Lawton place, at the celebrated Hundred Pines opposite the Battery. [On the 16th of June] Secessionville was attacked and the enemy repulsed with heavy loss. Bellinger, Mr. Simpson, and I went into the village and had our first sight of dead and wounded Yankees. In a few days we were moved into the village. Johnson Hagood was in command; Col. T. J. Glover was Lieut. Colonel; and W. H. Duncan was Major of our regiment.

We were very comfortably fixed here, as we supposed for the summer, when orders came for the regiment to pack up and go to Richmond. On reaching Richmond we left all our heavy baggage and took train for Gordonsville and from there took up our march for Manassas Junction, where we got into the fight on the afternoon of the second day, and also the third day, when the enemy were routed. We were on the extreme right in Longstreet's Corps and Hood's Division. Hagood was left in command of James Island and Glover was now in command. The poor fellow was killed on the last day, nearly at the last of the battle. He was brought to me at the Lewis Stone house. He was wounded in three places. I extracted one superficial ball, but he was mortally wounded in the pelvis and died in great agony, early in the morning. I was with him until he died. He was a noble man and was a loss to the state.



For two days Major Duncan and I remained, picking up and caring for our wounded on the battlefield, and then we went on and joined our regiment. The day after we crossed the Potomac into Maryland, I went as far as Hagerstown and here I was taken with fever and had to be hauled back across the Potomac on the wagon train; so I missed the battle of Sharpsburg. From this point we went to Martingsburg in West Virginia, and then down to Winchester, and then to Culpepper; then down to Fredericksburg, when General Lee thrashed the Yankees. I was in a fine position to see a great deal of the battle. This was in December, so we soon went into winter quarters.

The next spring and summer we ran down to Suffolk, Virginia; then when the army went into Pennsylvania at the battle of Gettysburg we were left at Richmond and Petersburg, vibrating between these points to protect them.

In the fall we went to Georgia, but got there after the battle of Chickamauga. We did go on up to Lookout Mountain. After remaining in the neighborhood of Chattanooga for some time we were ordered to Knoxville. Our march up was very exciting, chasing the enemy into Knoxville. I admired the Sweetwater section very much, a beautiful grazing section. General Bragg having allowed the enemy to whip him from Missionary Ridge, they sent a force against us. As we had a piece of the enemy both before and behind us, we were forced to retreat in the direction of Virginia. But before leaving Knoxville, General Longstreet concluded to risk an assault, which was unsuccessful on account of the strength of the enemy works. We retreated that night. The weather was very severe, and had it not been for the burning fences along the line of retreat, many must have been frozen.

We went through Strawberry Plains, New Market, and other small towns until we arrived at Morristown a day or two before Christmas. We had no flour or meal and for days were rationed on ears of corn which we parched. On Christmas day we had turkey and hominy for our dinner. It was at this place that one night, with snow on the ground, our tent caught fire and was burnt up. Ballinger and I escaped, saving most of our effects. We remained in this section for some time, frequently threatened by the enemy. One time I was put in charge of a lot of wounded Yankees. My hospital was in a church in the town of New Market. Most of the inhabitants here were Union in sentiment.

After sometime we moved up nearer to the Virginia line and in the early spring we took cars and went up to Gordonsville, Virginia. After remaining here a few days we were suddenly ordered to march, and the next day we found ourselves getting late into the battle of the Wilderness.

In this fight General Jenkins was killed and Longstreet wounded by a volley from our men by mistake. Jenkins was a valiant officer and had commanded us since our arrival in Virginia. We fought the enemy from this point until reaching Petersburg. Here I learned that I had been promoted to a full Surgeon and assigned to the 17th Georgia regiment in General Benning's Brigade. I was with this regiment in our fight on the Darbytown road, where I had many operations to perform. Soon after this I exchanged with Dr. Jordon of the 6th Regiment, S.C.V., in my old brigade and got back with my old friends again. The assault on Ft. Harrison on the James River was made by my brigade, but we were repulsed and in the charge my regiment suffered badly. I had 160 wounded on my hands and was one night and day operating.

We went into winter quarters before Richmond and in the early part of February I got a furlough to visit home. I went directly to Back River, where Laura and the baby (Leroy) were. There had been so much rain and so many bridges and railways had been washed away that I found it difficult. I had to walk a good many miles below Petersburg to reach a train, and then we were dumped down in a swamp at night and I had to walk across the Roanoke River on a single plank laid on the cross ties through a dark, covered bridge. Then, when day came and no cars were in sight, I walked to Weldon, twelve miles distant. After dining with Col. P.C. Gaillard, I took a train, but on reaching the Santee River we found that no train could cross, so a number of us walked across the Santee trestle four miles long. On reaching St. Stephens I had to remain nearly all day. I saw here, while waiting, the celebrated David T. Hines, who was killed here by a negro a few weeks after.<sup>6</sup>

I remained at Back River a few days and then went up to Alledale to see what could be done about saving property when the Yankees should pass through our section. After returning to Back River and remaining a few days, I started back for the army via Florence and Columbia. Uncle Dwight and Lilla were along and we succeeded in taking the last train that left Columbia as the enemy were just across the river bombarding the city. I had to stand up nearly all the way to Charlotte.

I got back to the army and remained until we began our retreat and final surrender on the 9th of April, 1865. My medical wagon had

<sup>6</sup> David Theodosius Hines began as well as ended his life in St. Stephen's Parish. He is the subject of two biographies, outlining a career of impostures and plain cheating which began with a forgery when he was no more than a cow-minder on Maham's Plantation.

been captured several days before and burnt, so all my baggage was lost. The officers of the brigade were allowed a wagon to carry baggage and provisions, and as we were all mounted, we took our line of march home. We generally took dinner at some farm house, but at night we camped out, and we cooked our own breakfast and supper. We had a delightful trip and kept together until we reached the Catawba River, where we camped near Major John White's of my regiment, who gave us all a fine supper.

The next morning we all separated, each man taking the route to his home. The first night I went to the home of the half brother of my old friend, John Irwin of Lancaster. Here my old mare had a regular attack of paralysis and I had to wait on her for two days before we could travel. I passed through Chester, and the Buckhead section of Fairfield County; then I went through Frog Level<sup>7</sup> and spent the night at Mrs. Boozers. The next day I dined with the Rev. Mr. Harris, father-in-law of my Colonel Steadman; then I went on and spent the night at the Colonel's. The next night I reached Dr. McCrary at White Pond on the S.C.R.R. and the next day reached home to find the house and everything burnt and only the kitchen and outhouse standing.

After resting myself and mare one day, I started off for Charleston, where I knew the family had taken refuge. The first night I stopped at a Mr. Otto just below Branchville. The next night I got to Ophir. Next day, I went to Moss Grove, where I met Father and all the boys. It was the last time I saw Thomas.

After visiting here I went on to Charleston. Just before reaching the city I was captured by Negro troops and taken to their station just above the forks of the King and Meeting Street roads, where I was put under the charge of a black Negro sergeant and was marched to the Provost Marshall's office just across [from] the Pavillon Hotel in Meeting Street. Having shown my surrender pass from General Grant, I was released with permission to remain three days in the city.

While I was riding along on Bull Street looking for the house, I met Mother and Anna, who took me to where the family lived.<sup>8</sup> It was a most happy moment to meet Laura and Baby again. The family consisted of Mother, Lizzie, Anna, Laura, LeRoy, Dr. FitzSimons, his wife

<sup>7</sup> This name was later changed to "Prosperity."

<sup>8</sup> Gunboats coming up the Cooper had disrupted the plantations. The Stoney's on their brick-sloop, with their neighbors the Fitz Simonses and the Balls, sought refuge in Charleston, at the Balls' town house (now 117 Ashley Avenue), which then backed on Coming's Creek.

and six boys, Kate Stoney and one child,<sup>9</sup> and Mrs. Elias Ball. The day before I left, Elias Ball arrived, and I agreed to take his two horses, then in Summerville. After arranging for Laura to meet me in Summerville, I left the city and returned to Ophir, where DuBose Porcher furnished me a conveyance to bring Laura from Summerville. I went down, got Laura, and led my two horses behind.

The next day I started for home, leading my two poor old horses. I was to get a carriage and wagon and meet Laura at 41 Mile Station on the S.C. Railroad, where DuBose was to send her on a certain day. I got about 20 miles when my mare broke down and I had to leave her until I returned in a few days. I got as far as Captain Appleby's below Varnville by night and I arrived at Allendale the next day. All of my horses and mules having been carried off by the enemy, I was forced to borrow from my neighbors.

On returning, I went the first night to Mr. W. H. Hier's, where I traded him out of a mule for 125 bushels of corn. The next night I met Laura at Mr. Rumph's near 41 Mile Station. On our way back we spent the night at Captain Skinners near Smoaks Crossroads and reached home the next day. We occupied the outhouse in the yard. There was no door between the two rooms, and we lived in it in that condition until fall, when I cut a door between the rooms and built a piazza. The next year I added one room and some years later I added another on the opposite side of the house. In this little house all of our family was raised. Since 1865 I have lived here at home attending to the planting and have given up practicing medicine altogether.

<sup>9</sup> Kate and her daughter were the family of Thomas Porcher Stoney.

## LETTERS FROM RUSSIA, 1802—1805

Edited by GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

*(Continued from July)*

[J. Allen Smith to Rufus King. Kherson, March 10/22, 1804.]

Two days after I had the pleasure of writing to you from Ganja, I took leave of the Prince Chichianof and of the Russian army, in possession of that city; and while still on the territory of Persia, I received, by express, a packet containing letters from Carolina and from England.

The day after my arrival at Tiflis, I was joined by Mons. de Benken-dorf; he had left the army of General Gulakof in possession of Djar, after some advantages gained over the Lesghis in the plains of the Alazan. He requested of me on the part of Count Woronzow not to leave Tiflis until his return, which he expected would be in a very few days. The following evening the Prince Chichianof arrived at Tiflis, the next morning he sent an express to recall the Ct. Woronzow; and the day after we received the melancholy intelligence that the brave, but imprudent General Gulakof, having penetrated too far into the mountains, has been vigorously attacked by the Lesghis, and had fallen in battle with some of his most distinguished officers; the Ct. Woronzow was saved, only, by being thrown from a precipice on the bodies of the dead, below. The army, with the utmost difficulty retreated to Djar; this action took place near a Mosque celebrated for containing the remains of the Brother of Naidir Shac, who met on this spot a similar fate. In a few days the Ct. Woronzow arrived, and on the 26 January I set out from Tiflis accompanied by a considerable number of persons who were willing to take advantage of the road which the Prince had ordered to be made.

We [passed] the first night at [illegible], the second at Annanour, and the third day, in the evening we reached the Mountain of Cashaour. The Capitain Ispravnik, or chief, came out to meet me with the very disagreeable news that the road was far from being finished; about 500 Georgians had been employed to make it, but an avalanche having carried away 12 of them, the rest refused to work and assassinated the Russian who was appointed to command them. We were obliged to remain two days on the mountain of Cashaour, where the cold, though excessive was not sufficient to overcome the infection of the plague.

In the mean time a company of chasseurs arrived for the protection of the Capitain Ispravnik, some hundred Georgians were collected, but

were of little service, for we were obliged to make our own way as we could through the snow for about 15 miles, to the village of Cobi. The next day we were comfortably lodged in the house of Prince Casbuk, one of the chiefs of the mountains who had been appointed as my guide. At this village of Casbuk, situated at the foot of the mountain of the same name, one of the highest of Caucasus;<sup>1</sup> we received the intelligence that the Tagaoursi were prepared to attack us in our passage through the 'defiles,' in order to revenge upon us the fate of one of their countrymen arrested at Tiflis. The chief of the military post at Larse sent us a company of musquetaires, and placed different detachments in the 'defiles' to prevent our enemy from descending from their mountains; to these were added the Company of Chasseurs, a body of Cosacks, and some hundred Georgians belonging to Prince Casbuk, who were employed to repair the bridges over the Terek.

We proceeded, without interruption to within three or four miles of Larse, when we discovered the Tagaoursi ranged on their mountains; Mackmet prince of the village of Larse, and who happened to be with me, sent them an embassy, which had its desired success, and we entered the little fortress of Larse without having exchanged a shot. The news of the storming of Ganja had already produced a considerable effect on the inhabitants of these mountains. The next morning the Kisti and Gerachi (my former enemies) sent a deputation to meet us, and offered hostages. Maxim Kaitouk an Ossittin prince, received me in his house, and a celebrated chieftan, Ackmet Dodurock, who had had the audacity, to attack General Chnoring the former Governor General of Georgia, and for whom a considerable reward had been offered, requested permission to pay us his respects. Accompanied by a number of these mountaineers, we passed the country occupied by the Ingushes,<sup>2</sup> and in the evening we arrived at Vladai Caucase.<sup>3</sup>

It would be difficult for me to convey to you an Idea of the barbarism which reigns in the mountains of Caucasus; but to give you a conception of the nature of its inhabitants, I will repeat to you an anecdote which Kaitouk told me. The Kisti had stolen from him 500 sheep, he permitted some days to pass, meditating on his vengeance,

<sup>1</sup> Smith is following the route which became known as the Georgian Military Road. It joined Tiflis to Mozdok on the Terek River and passed through the Caucasus near Mt. Kasbek, one of the highest peaks in this region (16, 545 feet).

<sup>2</sup> A Chechen tribe. The four major groups in the region of the Caucasus were the Georgians, Circassians, Chechens, and Lesghians.

<sup>3</sup> Vladikavkaz means "Key of the Caucasus." A military post founded in 1784, it guarded the route south through the mountains to Tiflis.



when, collecting some of the bravest of his followers, he penetrated to one of their villages, cut off the heads of thirty Kisti, carried them off in triumph, and piled them up before his door. He then sent a *Cunack* or friend to inform the Kisti that he was ready to sell these heads for ten or fifteen sheep each according to their value; in a short time he found himself in possession of more sheep than the number which he had lost.

The commandant of the fortress of Vladai Caucase would have added a piece of cannon to my escort, singular addition to the equipage of a traveller! It was reported that 8,000 Tcherchences<sup>4</sup> were in possession of the plains; but we reached Combuleka, without having met an enemy. The next day with 80 regulars and as many Cosacks, we arrived at Cabarda the capital of the lesser Circassia, and in the evening of the following day we were at the Quarantine on the banks of the Terek, opposite to Mosdock. After passing two days on one side of the river, and three on the other, we underwent all the ceremonies of fumigation and were permitted to enter the town, without our baggage.

I escaped from the formal attentions of the Commandant Mr. Protopopof, and hastened to Ekaterinograd, where I was hospitably received by a Colonel Stael, from thence I proceeded to Tegoriefsk, visited the little English Colony near the mountain of Bechtova,<sup>5</sup> made an excursion into the greater Circassia; and returned to Tegoriefsk with the intention of continuing my journey to the Crimea by the Cuban and the Island of Taiman.<sup>6</sup> I was assured that this road was impracticable at the present season of the year, I came, therefore to Cherkask on the Don, from thence to Ekaterinaslav, and to Cherson, where I have found General Sprengtporten, to whom I have had the satisfaction of delivering my Sieurs Benkendorf and Neckludof<sup>7</sup> after a tour as interesting, as it was dangerous. Tomorrow I set off for Ackmetchet in the Crimea, and it is probable that I shall sail from Sebastapole in company with General Sprengtporten, for Constantinople. But we have accounts here of war, the Emperor has ordered an army of 80,000 men to be assembled on the frontiers of Poland. Prussia has most unworthily betrayed to France

<sup>4</sup> Chechens.

<sup>5</sup> These were Scottish missionaries who had come to convert the Circassian tribes. For the interesting story of the colony see Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, *Russia* (London, 1912), pp. 255-257.

<sup>6</sup> The Kuban is a region which lies along the eastern shore of the Black Sea and tapers off into the Taman Peninsula.

<sup>7</sup> Neckludof may have been the officer assigned to Smith by Alexander as a guide.



the Intentions of his majesty. There is much to be said on this subject, but I ought already to have requested your pardon for having so long intruded on your time.

In my last, as well as in my letter from Astracan, I mentioned to you my desire of remaining in Russia as Minister of the U. States. it appeared to me to be the only manner in which I could shew my gratitude for the attentions which I had received; and at the same time of being of some service to my country. This was written, under the Idea that a new election would make you president of the U. States; an event which I most sincerely wished, much more for America, than either for you, my dear sir, or for myself. I am still ignorant as to the result of this election, and shall probably not be better informed until my arrival at Ackmetchet, to which place my letters are addressed. I had the satisfaction at Tegoniefsk of receiving a letter from London assuring me that my Brother was safely arrived at Charleston; the Capitan Pacha, his protector at Constantinople died a few months ago.

I again request of you, my dear sir, to write to me to the care of Messrs. Davison, Warnford Court, Throgmorton St., London, and to Mr. Blandow, at Petersburg.

[William Loughton Smith to Rufus King. Philadelphia, October 18, 1804.]

From the inattention of the gentleman to whose care you entrusted the letters from my Brother, I did not receive them till yesterday. His belief in the story of my capture, as you rightly conjectured, prevented his writing to me, but I have seen several of his letters to my relations in Charleston, none of them however so interesting as those you were so good as to communicate and for which you have my best thanks. By a late letter from Mrs. Izard <sup>1</sup> I have learnt his arrival at Constantinople in May and that he was to be carried by the Russian Admiral to Athens, from whence he proposed returning to Constantinople, Petersburgh, etc. I have no doubt that he might be placed in a situation to render great and essential services to the U. S. but it would be at the expence and sacrifice of his own personal concerns which most urgently require his immediate return to So. Carolina. I regret that he does not appear sufficiently to feel that urgency, and that he has not fortitude to return without further delay to a place which every day's delay will render more uncomfortable when he does finally return. I perhaps have no right to preach on this subject, tho' I have acquired dearly-bought experience of the fatal effects of a procrastinated return; unfortunately we none of us will benefit by the experience of others.

<sup>1</sup> Widow of Ralph Izard and mother of William Loughton Smith's first wife. Joseph Allen Smith was to marry her youngest daughter on his return to America.

He will be much disappointed in learning the real state of our politics and the little prospect of an early change. Still, little sanguine as I am on this head, I am not without hopes of one day witnessing the event he so fondly anticipated, and the realizing of which will not only afford the greatest joy to my Brother and myself, but to every true and unprejudiced American.

In the meantime we must continue to cherish and inculcate good principles and while we endeavour to tolerate the present things, say *meliora spero*. The loss of Washington and Hamilton and I must add, my respected friend, Mr. Izard, endears to me still more the few real worthies who remain. You cannot be ignorant that all the respectable men throughout the Continent look up to you and General Pinckney as their political saviours and that all their measures are predicated on a wish of and directed to the attainment of your future elevation to the Chief Magistracy. Great public considerations are thus superadded to those of personal regard which have bound me to you ever since I had an opportunity of knowing you and impel me to request you to take good care of yourself and keep out of all those scrapes which may endanger a life so precious to us. I am glad to find that our friend Pinckney is at the head of the anti-duelling Memorialists<sup>2</sup> and I trust that your sentiments are equally pacific.

It was my intention to have progressed further north this summer, at least as far as New York, but Hamilton's death and your absence, with other causes, contributed to change my design, and I have passed an agreeable summer in this neighborhood. I propose returning shortly to Charleston and God knows when my business and affairs will permit me to leave it again.

The Bearer, Mr. Richard Harrison of G. Britain, was well known to me in Lisbon,<sup>3</sup> Charleston, etc. He is a good-humoured sociable young man and will, I am persuaded, be happy to be admitted to your fire-side.

[J. Allen Smith to Rufus King. Constantinople, January 22, 1805.]

I have just been favoured with your letters and duplicates of the 10 and 22d of August, and regret that I was so unfortunate as to lose that of April, to which you allude.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Pinckney was in the forefront of the move in South Carolina to get a law passed barring duelling. See this *Magazine*, LX (1959) 7.

<sup>3</sup> Letters of William Loughton Smith as minister to Portugal (1797-1801) have been printed in this *Magazine*, XXV (1924) and XXVI (1925).

The President's resolutions<sup>1</sup> respecting a mission to Russia is what I always expected, but I should have reproached myself had I neglected, in writing to you, to touch on a subject which appeared to me of importance to my country; or to have satisfied, within myself, to a sentiment of gratitude which I had so much reason to feel. Although persuaded that the Court of Russia would receive with pleasure a minister from the U. States, and that no period could be more favourable for such a mission than that of the administration of the Chancellor Vorontzow, I studiously avoided ever expressing myself on this subject to any one, until my arrival at Astracan, resolving to return through Russia, I took the liberty of mentioning it in a letter to you, and afterwards to my Brother, on my arrival at Constantinople. I have therefore, the satisfaction of having done nothing more than what appeared to me to be my duty; and of having been ready to sacrifice my own pursuits and pleasures to the service of my country.

After a short stay at Constantinople, where, under the protection of my friend Mr. Italinski, I was permitted to see all that was deserving of the attention of a traveller, and even the interior of the Seraglio; I proceeded to Athens, made the tour of Greece, the Islands of the Archipelago, and the coasts of Asia Minor. I got back to Constantinople in the month of October, and had hopes to be in time to recross the Black Sea, but the season had set in with such violent storms that no vessel was to be found that would risk the voyage. The journey by land was tedious, and at most impracticable, and more than the weak state of my health would permit me to undertake; I resolved therefore to repose myself in the Society of Mr. Italinski, and must wait with patience some weeks longer, until I can find a favourable opportunity of going to Odessa. The road through Russia has now become the safest and the most expeditious.

I read with infinite regret the report you give me of the condition of our public affairs: I consoled myself, after having been so long a witness of the Evils which reign in Europe, with the idea that I should find reason and moderation in America; and I see, with great disappointment and sorrow, that a people whom I thought the most capable of forming accurate notions on the important subject of liberty, have not yet been convinced, even after the experience of the French Revolution,

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson had opened a correspondence with Alexander by a letter of June 15, 1804, in which he commented on Russian domestic reforms and looked forward to closer contact between the two nations. It was at this time that he sent out Levett Harris as consul. Max M. Laserson, *The American Impact on Russia—Diplomatic and Ideological—1784-1917* (New York, 1950), pp. 82-83.

that the shortest, and beaten road of Tyranny, is that which leads through Democracy. I perfectly agree with you, that however gloomy the prospect, we ought not to despair; but that men of honesty and energy of character should redouble their exertions to stem the current of revolutionary principles in a country, which above all others, has enjoyed most, the blessings of Justice and of equal Laws. We received them by inheritance from England, the only country in Europe that possessed them, we had the courage to maintain them, and it would be folly, wickedness and absurdity to infringe them.

I cannot too earnestly intreat you, My dear Sir, to continue to me the advantage and pleasure of hearing from you, for I have lost nothing of that interest which I ought to feel for the welfare of our Common Country, or of that profound respect and sincere attachment with which I have the honour to be

Your most obliged Humble Servant

J. ALLEN SMITH

• • •

In 1807, under the urging of his brother, Joseph Allen Smith returned to America. He lingered for awhile in Philadelphia, where he frequented the Federalist circle of which Mrs. Manigault was the center and William Allen Deas and Thomas Bee were prominent South Carolina members. Here he fascinated the company with his stories of far countries and royal society. His Russophile attitudes were pushed so far that his friends thought surely that he would return to marry some Russian princess.<sup>1</sup> However, he soon settled down, married Georgina Izard, the youngest sister of Mrs. Manigault, and spent the rest of his life oscillating between the two fading Federalist worlds of Philadelphia and Charleston.

That his Federalism never died can be seen in his description of the final turn-out of the Revolutionary figures to honour Lafayette in 1825. He wrote Poinsett: "His reception has been warm and animated, and appeared to be justly appreciated on his part. In the midst of all this joy, there was a propriety of conduct throughout the whole which does Honour to Charleston." <sup>2</sup> "Propriety of conduct"—that was the keel that kept all in balance. It was at the heart of the Federalist's conception of life. It was the reason for Smith's great successes in Russia. In his old age it was still his guiding precept.

<sup>1</sup> See the letters of Mrs. Manigault to Mrs. Izard, December 6, 13, 20, and 27, 1807, and same to same, March 25, 1809. MS Izard Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Smith to Poinsett, March 1, 1825. MS Poinsett Papers, Pennsylvania Historical Society, II.

## EXTRACTS FROM HARRIOTT HORRY'S RECEIPT BOOK

*(Continued from July)*

### Yam Puding

Take a pound of Yams boild dry,beat it fine in a Mortor with a pound of Butter till it Puffs, take ten Eggs (half the whites) beat them with a pound sugar, add half a pint of Wine,stew'd with a little Spice, the Juice of a Lemon with a little of the rine, and some slices of Citron laid on the Top.

### *[To Pickle Oysters]*

Wash your oysters clean in their own liquor, then strain it and put it on the Fire with a little Salt in it, to raise the scum. When perfectly clear, put in your oysters, to scald them, then take them out, and boil the liquor with salt,whole pepper, a few cloves and some mace, and add a glass of vinegar. Then pour the liquor on the Oysters.

With Miss Brailsfords best respects to Mrs. Horry.

### To make Spruce Beer

Take about half a pound of Spruce or Common Pine Tops, half a pound of China root,half a pound of Sassafrass, and one quart of Indian Corn. Put all these ingredients into Seven Gallons of Water and let it boil away to five Gallons or till the Corn begins to Crack open. Take it off the fire and let it stand till 'tis cold, then put it into a cask with about a pint of yeast or grounds of Beer and three pints of Molasses, and when it begins to work bottle it. NB: The bottles must be well cork'd.

### To preserve cream

Take  $\frac{1}{2}$  pound white Sugar, dissolve it in the smallest possible quantity of Water. When melted boil it 2 minutes in an earthen vessel then pour to it half a pint of new cream while the sugar is quite hot and when cold pour it into bottles and cork tight.

### Black Cap's

Cut your apples in halves, lay them on a Mazarine<sup>1</sup> Dish or for want of that, on the Brim of another Dish. Your Apples must not be pared. Lay the Cut side upon the Dish, wet the top of your Apples about an Inch square with White Wine, and strew fine Sugar upon the wett place, and bake them. Take Care they dont fall too much in the Oven.

<sup>1</sup> A deep blue, named for Cardinal Mazarin.

## MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE OF CHARLESTON 1825

Compiled by INEZ H. GRIFFIN

*(Continued from July)*

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Mrs. Ann Marr are respectfully invited to attend her funeral This Forenoon, at 8 o'clock A.M. from her late residence No. 14 Church Street. (Friday, August 12.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Lee and Mr. J. Cason, and the Members of the Charleston Fire Co. of Axemen, are respectfully requested to attend the funeral of the former, from his late residence, on Knox's Wharf, This Morning, at 8 o'clock, without further invitation. (Friday, August 12.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Rachael Gordon, and particularly the Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are respectfully invited to attend her funeral This Afternoon at 4 o'clock, from the residence of the Rev. John Howard, cor. Meeting and Hasell streets. (Saturday, August 13.)

Died on Sampit, in the vicinity of Georgetown, Mr. Thos. Britt, aged 115 years. He was a soldier in the Cherokee War more than 90 years ago; since which time he was engaged in the French War when the now U. S. were Brit. colonies and was a bold asserter of freedom we now enjoy during the tedious struggle of the American Revolution. His extreme age had not wholly impaired his constitution for within 3 weeks, he performed a journey on horseback of about 38 miles in a day, but a severe attack of bilious fever has finally brought him to his grave. (Tuesday, August 16.)

The Officers and Members of the Cincinnati Society, the Clergy and the Officers and Members of the Bible Society, the Members of the Charleston Library Society, the Members of the Agricultural Society, the Judges and Members of the Bar, and the Citizens generally are invited to attend the funeral of the late Major General Chas. Cotesworth Pinckney, from his late residence on East Bay, This Afternoon at 4 o'clock. (Wednesday, August 17.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. John Lewis, and the Members of the Marine Society, are invited to attend his funeral This Morning



at 7 o'clock from his late residence, cor. of E. Bay and Market Sts. (Thursday, August 18.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Mrs. Mary Ann Dewees and the members of the Circular Church are particularly invited to attend her funeral, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock from the residence of Mrs. Eliza Bee, No — Horlbeck's Alley. Friday, August 19.

Died on the 16th of last month in Barnwell Dist. at the house of Benj. Bruton, Esq. Doctor Elijah Thayer, of an attack of bilious fever. Saturday, August 20.

Died at Withersville, on the 12th inst. the Rev. John S. Capers. In his death, society, the Church, and his family have sustained an irreparable loss. . . . A wife and four children have been left to lament the loss of an affectionate husband and tender father. Tuesday, August 23.

Departed this life on the 14th inst. in the 57th year of his age, Col. Miles Brewton Pinckney, lamented by his relatives and friends. Tuesday, August 23.

Departed this life on the 18th inst. . . Virginia, daughter of M. E. Pohl. . left to mourn her irreparable loss, a disconsolate father, an afflicted mother, and an affectionate sister. Tuesday, August 23.

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. M'Intosh, and of Mr. and Mrs. Mullings, are requested to attend the Funeral of the late Mr. Wm. M'Intosh, from his father's residence, Charlotte street, Mazyckborough, This Morning, at 10 o'clock, without further invitation. Thursday, August 25.

Died at Greenville, on the 20th ult. Dr. Samuel Dwight, in the 54th year of his age. For the last 25 years he was a resident in the Parish of St. John's, Berkeley, which for several sessions he represented in the State Legislature. . . . as a husband, fond and affectionate . . . as a parent, claiming the warmest love of his children . . . Friday, September 2, 1825.

Married on Wednesday last by the Rev. Dr. Bachman, Mr. Lewis Wilhelm Uttermahl to Mrs. Mary Osberne Hanigan, both of this city. Wednesday, September 7.

Died 19th August at his Pineland residence, Sumter Dist., after an illness of 5 days, Major John Frierson, aged 68 years, 3 months and 29 days. Friday, September 9.

The Friends of Benj. S. Hort are requested to attend his Funeral, from his late residence in Cannonboro, This Morning, at 10 o'clock without further invitation. Friday, September 9.

The Relatives, Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Smith are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of their daughter Mary, from their residence No. 73 Broad street at 4 o'clock This Afternoon without further notice. Wednesday, September 14.

Married last evening by the Rev. Mr. Honour, Dr. S. T. Thomason to Miss Charlotte Dugan, all of this city. Friday, September 16.

Obit. Departed this life on the 12th inst. Mr. Benj. R. Porter in the 59th year of his age after a long and painful illness. . . . Saturday, September 17.

Died at Philadelphia, on the 9th inst in the 31st year of her age, Mrs. Susan S. Campbell, daughter of the late Moore Wharton, Esq. of that city, and wife of Colin Campbell, Esq. of Beaufort of this State. Tuesday, September 20.

Died at York on the 12th inst. Mr. Wm. Clarkson, of this place in the 65th year of his age. Friday, September 23.

Died from a fall from the window of the City Gazette (third floor) Office to the ground in his sleep between hours of 12 and 2 o'clock in the morning, James Rodgers (printer)—Friday, September 23.

Married at Invrekeithing, Fyfeshire, Scotland, on the 8th of August last, by the Rev. Mr. Robertson, Mr. William MacMillan of this city to Margaret, second daughter of Mr. Robert Dykes, of the Customs, Inverkeithing. Monday, September 26, 1825.

James Rodgers, printer, employed in the City Gazette Office, was, on the morning of Friday the 23rd inst, between hours of 12 and 1 o'clock, summoned to appear before his Judge. He was in habit of sleeping near one of the windows in the 3rd story of the house, with part of his body resting on the edge of the window, and it is supposed he fell out while asleep. Mr. Rodgers was about 24 or 25 years of age, native of Ireland, but emigrated as a child with his parents who now reside in Camden in this State. Tuesday, September 27.

Died on the 21st August last, in this city, after a long illness, Mrs. Margaret Hill, a native of Castle Bain in the Province of Connaught, Ireland, in the 45th year of her age. Tuesday, September 27.

Died in this city on the 25th inst., Miss Eliza Ann Frances Hall, in the 21st year of her age, a native of Baltimore. Wednesday, September 28.

The Friends and Acquaintances, and also the Members of the Hibernian Society, are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of the late Mr. James Parsons Kennedy, from his late residence in Queen street, opposite Mr. Very's Store, at 4 o'clock, This Afternoon, without further invitation. Friday, September 30.

Died on the 12th inst. at his seat of Eastern View in the County of Fauquier, Va., Col. Robert Randolph, in the 65th years of his age. Col. Randolph, when a boy of 16, entered the army of the Revolution as an ensign in the 3rd Va. of the Line, commanded by the gallant Gen. Mercer and served in the ever memorable campaign of 1776. . . . Transferred to the cavalry regiment of Baylor and one of few who escaped the surprise and massacre of the corps at Tappen, in Jersey . . . taken prisoner and remained a long time in N. Y. on parole. Exchanged, rejoined the army in Virginia and acted as aid-de-champ to Major Gen. Wayne at the battle of Green Spring previous to the siege of Yorktown. At the close of contest, settled in the county of Fauquier . . . Last public act of his life was to preside at the welcome given the venerable Lafayette in the County of Fauquier. . . . *Phila. Aurora*. Saturday, October 1.

Departed this life on the 30th ultimo. on board the Ship "Sarah" and "Caroline", from Liverpool to this port, Samuel M'Neel, Esq., many years a respected Merchant of this city. . . . Monday, Oct. 3.

Departed this life on Wed., the 14th Sept. after a painful illness of 3 days in the 57th year of his age, James Swinton, Esq. of St. Paul's Parish. Monday, October 3.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS \*

*Vogues in Villainy: Crime and Retribution in Ante-bellum South Carolina*, by Jack Kenny Williams. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 191. Illustrations, index. \$5.00.)

Those who heard him speak at the last annual luncheon of the South Carolina Historical Society will not be surprised to learn that Dr. Williams, Dean of the Graduate School of Clemson College, has written an interesting and scholarly book whose purpose is "to trace the lawlessness and the mechanics of law enforcement within South Carolina during the ante-bellum decades, 1790-1860."

Dr. Williams finds that the up-country led the State in assault and battery and bastardy, while the more urbane low-country excelled in murder and the various forms of larceny. The State made earnest efforts to control crime and was reasonably successful, the rural constables and city police being generally efficient and the judges of high caliber, only two of them being dismissed from office in seventy years and they for the mild fault of "drinking liquor while on the bench". It is perhaps reassuring to learn that the ante-bellum South Carolinian "fought, murdered, raped, and swindled about as much as his present-day counterpart;" but gun-toting was certainly more prevalent among respectable citizens then than now. Witness the sad case of Mr. Summerfield Betts, who was fatally shot on the steps of the Methodist Church in Columbia when a fellow worshiper exploded his pocket pistol by brushing against the stone rail. There was little mob violence, but after 1840 there were vigilance committees formed all over the State to deal with "abolition criminals" charged with inciting negro riots and spreading anti-slavery propaganda. These committees included many highly respected persons and confined their penalties generally to whipping, tarring and feathering, and banishment from the State, but public approval of these activities was by no means unanimous.

The book is obviously the product of intelligent and industrious research.

HAROLD A. MOUZON

\* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for fifty words or less. Copy should be sent to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

*Church and State in Eighteenth Century South Carolina.* By George C. Rogers, Jr. (Charleston: Dalcho Historical Society, 1959. Photo off-set typescript. Pp. 46. \$1.50.)

Within gray paper covers with the seal of the Diocese of South Carolina, the author has presented a comprehensive summary of the early Episcopal Church in South Carolina.

Citing the battle cry of the Puritan Revolution in England: "No Bishop, no king," Mr. Rogers tells how that cause was lost in England in 1660 but won in America in 1776. His account of the creation of the Established Anglican Church in the colony is well documented, as are the deviations by the settlers from some of the laws prescribed for it. Full credit for the dis-established of the church after the American Revolution is given to the settlers of the upcountry. With 79 dissenting churches as against 20 "Established" ones, and with their new representation in state government, these frontiersmen were determined against taxation for support of churches.

The beginnings of state and national organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America concludes the work as a fitting supplement to the theme.

The Dalcho Society is to be commended for publishing such a valuable piece of church history.

FLORA B. SURLES

*The Travels of William Bartram, Naturalist's Edition.* Edited with commentary and an annotated index by Francis Harper. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958. Pp. lxii, 732. Illustrations, maps. \$8.50.)

After almost ten years of valuable association with his father, the noted botanist, and with his uncle, a trader—years spent mostly in North Carolina and Florida, William Bartram embarked at Philadelphia for Charleston in March 1773 to begin his travels through the southeast. These four years were to result in an authoritative source on the natural history of this region, including its Indian lore. In his *Travels* Bartram has left us his erudite and exact observations during that journey on a wide range of scientific subjects: botany, zoology, ornithology, geology, and ethnology, with keen flashes of comment on other aspects of life, all suffused with his ecstatic feeling for the beauty of landscape. His versatility included a marked skill in drawing, and his scientific illustrations are not only accurate but have a distinct artistic quality.

Now the painstaking and devoted research of Francis Harper, research associate of the John Bartram Association, has magnified this

already considerable work of classic scientific achievement and given us a much more comprehensive and useful volume of the *Travels*. The rather intense illumination which Mr. Harper focuses on Bartram's text in his meticulous and copious commentary, although disclosing a number of minor flaws, does not diminish the brilliance of the author or his work. Through amplification by references and insight this careful annotation has greatly increased the value of "*The Travels*", especially for the writers of fact or fiction who will find now an even more useful source of data pertaining to South Carolina and other southern colonies. Francis Harper's extensive research, over a period of many years, included re-tracing Bartram's routes, observing and even collecting plants and animals in places where they were seen by Bartram.

*The Travels of William Bartram* was not published until about 1791, a rather considerable time after his trips, which may account for some of the lapses in chronology which Mr. Harper points out. The weakness in accurate measurement of distance might be attributed to the fact that he was constantly prepossessed by the beauty of natural scenery. However, these trivial faults do not at all seriously affect the magnitude of his achievements.

This gem of science and literature was little appreciated in America at the time of its publication, but did receive recognition abroad. Mr. Harper's cliché "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country" does not entirely explain this indifference. The Americans, in the throes of building a new country, quite naturally lacked the benefits of a long-standing cultural environment, so there were comparatively few men capable of comprehending the broad range of Bartram's qualities. Now as a more mature nation we are realizing the importance of much that was done in the early days and finding the records rewarding.

LOUTREL WINSLOW BRIGGS

*The First Baptist Church of Chester, South Carolina.* By Louise Kelly Crowder. (N. p., [1959]. Pp. 28. Illustrations.)

The author has sketched the history of this church over its 125-year span, from a membership of thirty-five to its present twelve hundred, with notes on such phases as its various pastors, the parsonage, Sunday school, and training union.

*The Church of the Holy Comforter, 1857-1959.* Compiled by Emma Baker Anderson and Julia Rees Reynolds. (Printed by Osteen-Davis



Printing Co., Sumter, 1959. Pp. 47. Illustrations. \$1.00. Copies available from the Church.)

This booklet, presenting the history of the century-old Episcopal church in Sumter, includes interesting excerpts from the old register and vestry minutes, biographical sketches of its ministers and of those young men who have gone from its parish to enter the priesthood, and lists of its rectors, memorials and gifts. A number of illustrations add to the attractive format of the book.

*The Rogers Family of the Pee Dee, South Carolina, and Allied Families.* By Frank M. Rogers. (N. p. [1959]. Photo off-set typescript. Pp. 128. Index.)

This history traces the South Carolina branch of the Rogers family from its earliest known progenitor Nicholas (originally of England, later of Delaware and Pennsylvania), to whom, with other Welch Baptists from Pennsylvania, a large tract of land on the Pedee was granted. The genealogy is clearly organized and thoroughly documented. Numerous sections on various branches of the family provide information on the earliest generations of the lines and conclude with references to published works or collections in which further material may be found.

The West Charleston Sertoma Club has recently reprinted the 1902 illustrated souvenir pamphlet on the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition. Proceeds from donations (\$1.00) received for the booklet will be used to support the Brookland Plantation School for Boys at Edisto Island and other charitable projects of the Club. Copies may be ordered from Sertoma, Box 3205, Charleston.

The Society has received copies of the following publications:

*This Infernal War: the Confederate Letters of Sgt. Edwin H. Fay.* Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley with the assistance of Lucy E. Fay. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. Pp. viii, 474. Illustrations, index. \$6.00.)

"Tombstones That Tell a Story: Charleston's Historic Coming Street Cemetery". By Thomas J. Tobias. Reprinted from *The Journal of The Southern Jewish Historical Society* (November 1958).

*A Bibliography of North Carolina, 1589-1956.* Compiled by Mary Lindsay Thornton. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. Pp. xiii, 597. \$7.50.)

*Jewish Monumental Inscriptions in Barbados.* Transcribed with an Introduction by E. M. Shilstone. (N. p., American Jewish Historical Society, [1959]. Photo off-set typescript. Pp. xxxiii, 205. Index.)

*American Revolution in Georgia, 1763-1789.* By Kenneth Coleman. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 352. Index. \$5.50.)

*Myths and Men.* By Bernard Mayo. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1959. Pp. xii, 71. \$2.50.)

*Confederate Indians.* By Frank Cunningham. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1959. Pp. xiv, 242. Index, illustrations. \$5.00.)

*Madame De Lafayette.* By Constance Wright. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959. Pp. viii, 280. Index, illustrations. \$4.50.)

*Stonewall's Man: Sandie Pendleton.* By W. G. Bean. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 252. Index. \$5.00.)

#### Requests for Information

Frank M. Rogers, P. O. Box 28, Florence, desires information regarding the parentage of Frances Duran McCall Mandeville, who, according to family Bible records, was born October 30, 1772, died July 14, 1854. She married Cornelius Mandeville in 1792 and lived thereafter in Darlington County.

Mrs. Zelma Deaver Draper, 3213 Lawnview, Corpus Christi, Texas, is collecting data on the Dever (Deaver, Devers, Deavor, deVere) family. She desires to know the parents of Mary Singleton, born 1782, wife of Richard Deaver, Haywood County, North Carolina, and the father (Thomas or William?) of Thomas Shepherd Deaver, of Mars Hill, North Carolina.

Henrietta D. Wilbanks, 4919 Homer Drive, Dallas, Texas, wants information concerning J. I. Wilbanks, wife Jane, both born in South Carolina, living in Coosa County, Alabama, in 1850. A son, David Varner Wilbanks (wife, Martha Cross), moved to Smith County, Texas, 1878. Where did Wilbanks originally live? Who were his parents?

Mrs. Mary Bush Rojas, 1495 N. W. 112th Terrace, Miami, Florida, offers to exchange data with Bush and McNeely families. She desires the names of parents and date of birth of Asa William Bush, who married

c. 1831 Nancy McNeely, born 1805 (daughter of Keziah McNeely, born 1788), all residents of Greenville County in 1850.

Mrs. Rose McDavid Munger, 2603 Montevallo Road, Birmingham, Alabama, will appreciate any information concerning William McDavid, born c. 1760, who married Nancy Dorrah (1766-1840) of South Carolina and had a daughter Rosanna, born 1799 in Laurens County. They later moved to Tennessee.

Mrs. Irvin Talley, 1212 3rd Avenue, Safford, Arizona, will exchange data on Capt. Henry Hughes, born in Ireland (?) c. 1756, died 1814 Burke County, Georgia. He fought in the Second and Seventh Virginia Continentals; married Jane Cooper (daughter of Thomas Cooper), born 1758, St. Stephen's Parish, South Carolina, died 1826, Burke County. Is Henry Hughes's mother Sarah Clayton, daughter of John Clayton, botanist, of Virginia?

#### "Scotchtown"

The Hanover County Branch of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities has recently bought "Scotchtown," built c. 1719, home of Patrick Henry from 1771-1778 and girlhood home of Dolly Madison. Contributions for the work of repair and preservation will be gratefully received by the Scotchtown Committee—Mrs. Hugh Flippen, Treasurer, Hanover National Bank, Ashland, Virginia.

#### THE SOCIETY

On the evening of May 18 the Society sponsored at the Gibbes Art Gallery an address by Gwen Bristow, author of the recently published Revolutionary novel *Celia Garth*. Miss Bristow spoke, before a large audience of the Society's members and guests, on various aspects of her work and research. A reception followed, hostesses for which were Mrs. Parker Connor, Mrs. N. R. Bayly, Mrs. William Harleston, Jr., Mrs. E. Roy Daniell, Mrs. Paul Hund, and Mrs. Francis Harleston.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

In response to a number of requests received this year, the Publication Committee of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* has decided to accept advertising on a limited scale.

Founded in 1900, the *Magazine* has a circulation distributed through thirty-nine states and eight foreign countries, including over two hundred libraries and historical or genealogical societies.

Publishers and book sellers, genealogists, antique dealers, and other individuals engaged in various phases of historical interests or activities will find advertising in the *Magazine* of value. Since approximately one-half of its circulation lies in South Carolina, advertising in these pages could also serve business firms in the state as a medium for promoting good will among a select group of customers. We know of no other comparable publication in this region which can offer similar services.

For further information write Advertising, *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Fireproof Building, Charleston, South Carolina.

The first of these is the fact that the British Empire is not a homogeneous entity. It is a collection of many different peoples, languages, and customs. The second is the fact that the British Empire is not a static entity. It is a dynamic entity that has changed over time. The third is the fact that the British Empire is not a benevolent entity. It has been a source of oppression and exploitation for many of its subjects.

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